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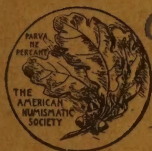
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NUMISMATIC NOTES
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THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

BY

OSCAR RAVEL

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

BY OSCAR E. RAVEL

The Thesprotian town of Ambracia in Epirus (Ἀμβρακία) was situated where the town of Arta now stands. Its territory extended all round the northern and western side of the Gulf of Ambracia (now Gulf of Arta). On the southeast, it was bounded by the territory of the Amphilocheians and on the west by the Laguna Tsukalia, or probably the small river Oropos (Luro). Inland, we do not know how far it extended.¹

The city itself was situated at the mouth of the river Arachthos (Ἀραρθος), and at the head of a gulf eighty stadia from the sea.² Above the town of which some ancient walls still exist, stands a rocky hill—the Acropolis, and from its height the plain could be dominated and one had an extensive view over the sea.

The harbor was provided with dikes and dams (κλειστός λιμήν) and was probably situated at the mouth of the river,³ which vessels could navigate as far as the town.⁴

The mythical founder of Ambracia was Ambrax, son of Thesprotos,⁵ but according to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, the eponymous founder was the son of Dexamenos, son of Heracles.⁶

The town was colonized by Corinth about 630 B.C. Strabo says Gorgos, son of Kypselos, was the leader of the Corinthian expedition and became the first tyrant of Ambracia. His son, Periander II, succeeded him but was soon deposed by the citizens who then instituted a democratic form of government.⁷

By some authors, the historical founder of Ambracia is called Torgos, Gorgias or Gorgos,⁸ but as his name is inscribed in full on a beautiful coin (pl. XI, 127), we may be sure that it was really Gorgos (ΓΟΡΓΟΣ).⁹

Owing to her very favorable situation, Ambracia was the natural port for Epirus and the interior, and the medium for commerce with Italy and Sicily. Practically all the trade of the country passed through her harbor, so that she grew in wealth and soon became one of the most flourishing of the Corinthian colonies.

The first we know of her in history is that in 480 B.C. she joined with Corinth in the war against Xerxes, sending five hundred hoplites and seven vessels.¹⁰

Corinth through hostility for Aegina established a close friendship with Athens, which she supported, in order that, through her, Aegina should be humiliated. We have no direct proofs that Ambracia was with Athens against Aegina, but knowing she was very faithful to her mother-city, we may suppose she helped Corinth.

When, in 456 B.C., Aegina became tributary to Athens, the dangerous rival to the Corinthian influence in Peloponnesus was eliminated.^{10a}

In 432 B.C., Ambracia took an active part, on the Corinthian side, in the war between Corinth and Corcyra and supplied a fleet of 27 vessels.¹¹

At first Ambracia invaded the neighbouring town of Argos and expelled the Amphilochians.¹² They, with the help of their allies, the Akarnanians, later recaptured the town.¹³

During the second part of the Peloponnesian war the Ambracians again besieged Argos, but did not succeed in taking it and were obliged to retreat. In 426 B.C., with the help of the Lakedemonian Eurylochos, they again tried to take that town, but the Akarnanians had received important help from the Athenians and directed by the Athenian general Demosthenes, they defeated the Ambracians at Olpai (Ὀλπαι), and destroyed their army completely.¹⁴ Thucydides says that during the Peloponnesian war no other Greek town suffered so great a calamity within so short a time. After this defeat, a truce of 100 years was concluded between Ambracia and the Akarnanians.¹⁵

Ambracia, always faithful to her mother-city and to Sparta, in the last period of the Peloponnesian war (ca. 415-414) sent troops to help Syracuse then besieged by the Athenians.

From this time she seems to have lived in

peace and there followed the most flourishing epoch of her history. About 342, Alexander of Epirus, made Ambracia one of his capitals and sailed thence to Italy ¹⁶ (ca. 334 B.C.). In 340 B.C., she entered into the defensive league with Athens against Philip of Macedon, but after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., Philip established a Macedonian garrison in the town.

As the object of the present study is the coinage of the Ambracian mint, and as this was closed under Philip,¹⁷ the events posterior to 338 B.C. do not concern us. These historical facts are cited merely to facilitate examination of the events that may have left a mark upon the coinage.

The coinage of Ambracia is almost exclusively staters of Corinthian types and standard; some small denominations are recorded as belonging to this mint, owing to the initial A under the Pegasos, but it is more likely that they should be attributed to some other mint. The small coins in the British Museum, of Roman standard,¹⁸ like all the late staters, do not belong to this mint.

In the Museum of Berlin, there are two small coins, probably drachms, of archaic style, inscribed A under the Pegasos and therefore considered as being of Ambracia. These pieces are the only instance of small coins in all the series. To support this attribution, there is only the initial A, but as this may be the initial of other mints too, we prefer to leave these coins among those of "uncertain mints."

The present study treats the series of beautiful Ambracian staters. These most remarkable coins of Corinthian types are very carefully executed. They show much variety in composition, and the symbols are often of great interest. Like the Corinthian staters, those of Ambracia were known everywhere as *pegasi* or "colts" (*πῶλοι*), and circulated freely as a kind of international currency. The name colts was given these staters owing to the constant reiteration of the principal type, the flying Pegasos, popularly known as the 'colt,'¹⁹ and this type was considered as a kind of guaranty of good alloy and weight. A circumstance that seems to justify the great success of the *pegasi* is that, although many thousand *pegasi* are recorded, so far no plated example has been met.

Ambracia's trade with Italy and Sicily was very important, and this explains why the greatest number of Ambracian colts have been found in these countries. Their abundance in Sicilian hoards seems to indicate that, as the coinage of didrachms was very scanty in Sicily, they were normally used, with the other *pegasi*, in the transactions where didrachms, or ten-litrae pieces, were needed.

Although hoards of *pegasi* have been numerous in Sicily, it is greatly to be regretted that not a single detailed record has been made of them. Even when the other coins found with them have

been carefully described and published, the colts have been completely neglected. This is due to several reasons—a general contempt for them, the very erroneous idea that they are such common coins that it is not worth while wasting time over them and the scarcity of books of reference dealing with them.^{19a}

That the pegasi of Ambracia are not common is amply proved by the following catalogue. The coins recorded are by no means all that exist, but as almost all the coins of the principal public and private collections and all the coins illustrated in the sale catalogues have been noted, it is surprising how few there are. Very important museums, such as Athens and Naples, have only half a score of specimens in their trays. Very few series of Greek coins show such a large number of presumably unique varieties.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. E. T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society, who has helped me with his valuable advice, and, especially, to Mr. Sydney P. Noe, Secretary of the American Numismatic Society, who was kind enough to read over and correct the proofs, and to help me with friendly criticism so that I have modified in some cases my possibly over-bold views, clashing with opinions which still hold the field.^{19b}

I have to express my gratitude also to my friend M. Michel P. Vlasto, with whom I discussed

many points and who has constantly assisted me with his knowledge.

I owe my sincerest thanks to all the keepers of public cabinets and to all owners of private collections who have aided in the bringing together of the casts of the coins described in the present study. The following are the public and private cabinets that have kindly sent me casts:

Athens (National Numismatic Museum),
 Berlin (Kaiser Friedrich Museum),
 Brussels (Cabinet des Médailles),
 Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum),
 Copenhagen (Royal Numismatic Cabinet),
 Glasgow (Hunterian Collection),
 Gotha (Münzkabinett d. Herz. Hauses),
 London (British Museum),
 Milan (Castello Sforzesco),
 Munich (Münzkabinett),
 Naples (Museo Nazionale),
 Paris (Cabinet des Médailles),
 Palermo (Museo Nazionale),
 The Hague (Koninklijk Kabinet),
 Torino (Medagliere del Re),
 Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum),
 Mr. W. Gedney Beatty, New York,
 Conte de Brandis, Venice,
 Comte Chandon de Briailles, Chaource,
 Mr. G. Empedocles, Athens,
 Col. Godefroy, Paris,

Mr. Paul Mathey, Paris,
Mr. R. E. Hart, Blackburn,
Mr. Hoyt Miller, Long Island,
Mr. E. T. Newell, New York,
Prof. Sir Charles Oman, Oxford, Eng.
Dr. Petzalis, Athens,
Dr. E. P. Robinson, Newport, R. I.,
Dr. Bernhard, St. Moritz,
J. Mavrogordato, Eden Bridge, Eng.

Many other public cabinets and private collections had no specimens of Ambracia in their trays, or were unable to send me casts.

SYMBOLS

On a great number of the staters of Corinthian type there are symbols in the field of the reverses. Some of these are common to all mints and generally represent a variety of simple or conventionalized objects such as animals, insects, plants, or articles associated with religious ceremonies, etc.

Others of more complicated nature are found chiefly on the Ambracian colts. They sometimes represent human figures of comparatively large size—at times real "tableaux de genre."

Head, speaking of the symbols found on the staters of Corinth corresponding to those illustrated on *pl. XIX, a, b, c, d, e, f*, says that they

are doubtless magistrates' signets, and that those found on the series with the magistrates' initials stand for mint-officials of lower rank, who were replaced at frequent intervals, perhaps annually, while the superior magistrate remained in office for a longer period of time.²⁰

Prof. Oman repeats this explanation but applies the theory of mint-officials changing annually to the great variety of symbols found on the early staters without initials.²¹

Babelon follows Head's opinion.²²

The writer's idea is that it is a mistake to generalize on the basis of this theory. It may be that the symbols on the late Corinthian coins with initials AA-AY-AP-ΔI-Δ-Γ-I-N²³ have some connection with the mint-officials, but this possibility is no more than conjecture that has still to be proved. If the symbols are really magistrates' signets, it can only be ascertained through a careful examination of a large number of die-combinations.

There is a class of staters studied by Sir Charles Oman in his paper on the Fifth century coins of Corinth that presents a strong objection to Head's opinion.

Fourteen reverses with different symbols are found coupled with two obverses so similar that only a very slight difference in the position of the Pegasos head and fore-legs permits one to see that they are not of the same die. These dies (pl.

XIX, *A* and *B*) are apparently contemporary, and this is proved since the same reverses are found coupled with both.

The reverses found coupled with *A* have the following symbols:

1. Five dolphins. (Cf. Babelon Tr., pl. CCX, 10.)
2. Three dolphins. Berlin.
3. Two dolphins. (Cf. Num. Chron., 1909, pl. XXIX, 30.)
4. Dolphin and eagle's head, **pl. XIX, a.**
5. Dolphin and bunch of grapes with two leaves, **pl. XIX, b.**
6. Dolphin and cock. (Cf. Cat. Weber, 3693.)
7. Figure with bow to left and Δ I. Cf. Ratto, 1927, pl. XXXIX, 146.
8. Little figure standing to r., **pl. XIX, c.**
9. Dolphin and figure standing to r. (Cf. Sotheby, 1921, pl. XIII, 278.)

The reverses found coupled with *B* have the following symbols:

10. Dolphin and thymiaterion, **pl. XIX, d.**
11. Dolphin and palmette, **pl. XIX, e.**
12. Same, but different die. (Cf. Corolla Num., pl. XI, 15.)
13. Herakles with bow to r. and TI; Berlin.
14. Dolphin and figure to l., **pl. XIX, f.**
15. Figure with bow to l. and Δ I. (Cf. Egger, 1908, pl. XIII, 477.) Same die as 7.

16. Dolphin and bunch of grapes with two leaves.
(Cf. Num. Chr., 1909, pl. XXIX, 32.)
Same die as 5.

I have found 42 staters from these die-combinations. Two of these 14 different reverses, Nos. 5 and 7, are found coupled with both *A* and *B*. Only two, Nos. 1 and 5, are found coupled with other obverse-dies. The first is found with an obverse depicting a standing Pegasos (cf. Babelon, pl. CCX, 11) and the second with a flying Pegasos of later style. (Cf. Ratto, 1927, pl. XXXIX, 1438.)

This group of colts shows a concrete sequence of dies, where No. 1 represents the link with the previous issues and No. 5 the link with the following. We can therefore infer that the 14 reverses are all contemporary. But the above mentioned staters have been placed by Professor Oman in different periods, ranging from 414 to 394 B.C., Nos. 1 and 2 in the "Circle of dolphins class," Nos. 11 and 12 in the "Palmette and dolphin class" and the others in Period IX (Dolphin and varying annual symbols).

If we accept this classification, we are obliged to assume that the two dies *A* and *B* have been in constant use for 20 years, which is certainly not possible.

If the symbols stand for the magistrates' badges, there must have been at least 13 magistrates in the mint of Corinth, during the

use of the two dies that we have seen were employed at the same time, and this is certainly very difficult to believe.

Even if we only take into consideration the symbols we find on the reverses coupled with die *A* alone, we should find, during the use of one single die, at least nine magistrates, as there are nine different symbols.

On the other hand if we consider only the dies belonging to Professor Oman's Period IX, the eleven symbols we find would represent the mint-marks, or badges of magistrates that changed *at least* once a year. Therefore the two dies that we have seen were used at the same time would have been employed constantly during eleven years. From what we know of the technique of ancient coining²⁶ this is most improbable too. No die could stand hard hammering for such a long time; a duration of two years would certainly be more than we can expect from a die under normal circumstances.^{26a}

Studying a large number of colts of Corinth, of which I have collected a considerable number of casts, with a view to establishing their chronological sequence, it has been found that the above case is not an exception. On the contrary we find very often a large number of reverses with differing symbols, coupled with the same obverse die. This is also met with in the Ambracian series. For instance, coins Nos. 125 to 132 have

all the obverses from the same die, coupled with eight reverses with different symbols. These coins are certainly contemporary and belong to the same issue; in this case, too, we should have eight magistrates in charge at the same time, and this is even more astonishing in a mint as small as Ambracia.

We also find cases sometimes that at first glance seem just the reverse. Several symbols are repeated for a long time and on reverses of quite different style. For instance, we find the kerykeion on coins of Ambracia of the second and third period. There are ten dies (P 10, 11, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33) all with the same symbol, and their issue is certainly wide apart in time. How can we explain that in the same mint in the one case we have a single magistrate for a long period and in the other eight magistrates during the short life-time of a single die?

From these considerations we should be justified in concluding that the symbols on the pegasi cannot represent the signets of mint-officials or magistrates, and that their meaning must be quite different.

One class of symbols is found repeated on the coins of the same mint, such as the *Club* on those of Dyrrhachium, the *Achelous' head* on the coins of Stratos, the *Bow* on those of Alyzia. In these cases, owing to their constant reiteration, they are not considered as magistrates' signets, but

as a kind of παράσημον²⁴ of the town. It is evident that they imply a religious meaning, being the attributes of gods whose cult was greatly in honour there. But these symbols were by no means used at the above mentioned mints exclusively; we find the *Club*, the *Achelous' head* and the *Bow* symbols also on the colts of Ambracia (No. 29, pl. III, No. 89, pl. XII, No. 54, pl. V). If these symbols have a religious meaning on the colts of Dyrrhachium, Stratos and Alyzia, why should they not have the same meaning on the other colts?

Our hypothesis for explaining the symbols is that they were at first merely ornamental devices, meant to embellish the composition and to break the bareness of the field. Later, attributes of gods were chosen with the same object, but with the supplementary purpose of putting the issue under the protection of a tutelary divinity. Once the fashion of the symbols became established, they must have been considered a kind of customary accessory to the Athena's head, and the die-cutters gave free course to their imagination and a great variety of objects were chosen, but chiefly from among the numerous ἀποτρόπαια of recognized protective power.

The symbols on the colts were for a long time religious and, after the usual attributes of gods, we find totems of all kinds, gods themselves or reproductions of well-known statues of divinities

or heroes and even mythological scenes or allusions to some legendary or historical event. This class of symbols should be considered as a kind of accessory type, added to the standard Corinthian type.

We can follow this evolution, step by step, on the colts of Ambracia.

On the first archaic issues we find no symbols (Nos. 1 to 7, pl. I), but on the following issue, which we shall show hereafter was probably struck at Corinth, we find an ivy-branch (Nos. 8 to 11, pl. I). The nature of the symbol and its decorative disposition leave no doubt that it was meant to embellish the composition.

The first symbol that follows the ivy-branch is a kerykeion, and we have already noted that this is found repeated for a long time in periods II and III (pl. II, III, IV, and V). The kerykeion marks the first step in the evolution of the original purpose, which was simply decorative. The choice was natural; this symbol is not only a decorative device, but has its own particular meaning. In fact what could have been found more appropriate for an issue of coins than the golden rod of Hermes, the herald of peaceful intercourse among people and the symbol of trade?

Later, however, only the religious meaning survived and, as the kerykeion was the attribute of Hermes, there were no reasons that those of the

other gods worshipped should not have been employed also as symbols. Thus we have the Club²⁹ of Herakles, the Kantharos of Dionysos, the Tripod of Apollo.

From these simple attributes we pass to the figures of divinities such as the flying Nike, a Satyr, an Eros (?), and later *local* gods and heroes—Arachthos, Gorgos and the Dolphin-rider—were taken for symbols. On some coins we even find *complete scenes*, like the girl playing at Kottabos and Ambrax watching the fight of the serpent with the tortoise.

It is therefore evident that the study of these symbols is of more interest than if they are considered as mint-marks or magistrates' signets only.

Adrien Blanchet saw the importance of the study of these symbols and in his paper "*Représentations de statues sur les statères de Corinthe*" concludes that the study of them may supply us with considerable archæological and chronological information.³⁰

In the present study great importance has therefore been given to the symbols and we have attempted to explain their meaning. Unfortunately we know very little about the local legends of Ambracia and consequently we can submit an interpretation in a few cases only. Many symbols, in spite of our endeavours, are incomprehensible and will perhaps remain puzzles until new archæological discoveries shall have furnished us with the necessary clues.

CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

The classification of the staters of Corinthian types has always been considered a very difficult task. In the introduction of the Catalogue of the British Museum for Corinth, Head says that few series of coins present greater difficulties. Prof. P. Gardner says that to arrange them accurately by date is impossible.³¹ The great uniformity of types, and the small differences of style, were the chief difficulties.

But as many other Greek series present the same peculiarity and have been carefully classified, we are justified in believing that there must be other reasons.

As a rule in all ancient coins the die with deep relief was fixed to the anvil, and used as a pile; the other die was used as a punch or trussel and received the blow. The die fixed to the anvil was the one which gave the more important side of the coin, or obverse; and the side from the punch die was the reverse. This last received the blows and therefore lasted a shorter time than the die fixed to the anvil, which accounts for the fact that generally the reverses are more numerous than the obverses.^{31a}

Although on the Corinthian staters the head of Athena,³² apparently the more important side of the coin, is on the reverse, the Pegasos is on the obverse; therefore it is the principal type.³³ On

the earliest coins of Corinth we find the Pegasos on the obverse, and on the reverse only a kind of incuse pattern. Afterwards Athena's head took the place of the incuse device, while the flying-horse, the *παράσημον* of Corinth, remained on the obverse.³⁴

In all attempts at classification of the colts, the obverses, viz., the most important side of the coin, have been completely neglected, even in the best catalogues. Often they are not even illustrated and their descriptions are limited to "Pegasos flying r. or l." ^{34a} Modern authors, following this general habit, try to establish the chronological sequence of the types by studying the reverses only.

Although at first sight the obverses seem similar, they are by no means so nearly alike as it was generally supposed. If we study them closely, we are surprised to see how different they really are. If they look similar, it is a probability that they are closely related—that the coins either belong to the same issue or at least to the same period.

This uniformity of the obverses, which was the reason for their being neglected, is of great help in the study of the series.

In fact, it is obvious that it is much easier to perceive differences of design and style on artistic productions if they always reproduce the same object, than if this varies.

It is misleading to rely on style alone, and in the present study several cases confirm this.³⁵ Striking differences of style are to be found on coins of the same epoch, either because earlier types were copied intentionally, or because, in all epochs, there were clever and inferior engravers working together and therefore good and bad style.

In trying to establish the chronology of the colts of Ambracia,^{35a} we have followed the only really scientific system, that of the die-sequence, inaugurated by Regling and followed by Tudeer, Newell, Seltman and other modern numismatists.³⁶

The coinage of Ambracia is particularly interesting, as the dies interlace frequently. This fact permits us to establish a die-sequence that is almost continuous. Naturally there are missing links, but in this case stylistic considerations help greatly to bridge the interruptions.

Some die-combinations that we do not know may come to light, and these may change the sequence submitted herein and demand a "re-shuffling," but the present essay is only a modest attempt at the classification, and it should be considered as the first step to a more complete and exhaustive work.

The coinage has been divided into five chronological periods, taking into consideration the established die-sequence, comparisons of style and the available historical data.

First Period—from 480 to 456 B.C. (Archaic style).

Second Period—from 456 to 426 B.C. (Transitional style).

Third Period—from 426 to 404 B.C. (Fine style).

Fourth Period—from 404 to 360 B.C. (Finest style).

Fifth Period—from 360 to 338 B.C. (Beginning of the decline).

Both Head ³⁷ and Babelon agree in fixing the beginning of the coinage of Ambracia at 480 B.C., when Ambracia joined the war against Xerxes. Babelon supposes the first issue of coins to have been made to pay the Ambracian troops.³⁸

The second period begins with the fall of Aegina in 456 B.C. and ends with the defeat of Olpai.

The third period beginning with the truce of 100 years ends with the fall of Athens. The date of 360 B.C. closing the fourth period is only conjectural. The fifth period ends with the closing of the mint in 338 B.C.

The periods have been subdivided into groups, taking as a rule the obverses rather than the reverses into consideration. It would be impossible to establish groups or classes where obverses and reverses would exactly fit. Because of the concatenation of the dies several reverses from the same die are coupled with obverses of two groups. We do not fix any dating for the

groups as this would only be guess-work and consequently of very doubtful utility.

The system of labelling in the following catalogue is the same that has been adopted by C. T. Seltman in his "Athens, its History and Coinage." Each coin or die-combination has a progressive



a is called the "Edge of the wing"; *b*, the "Upper part of the wing"; *c*, the "Row of small feathers"; *d*, the "Row of long feathers." The numbering of the feathers begins from the top.

number; each obverse die has a progressive number following the letter A (Anvil-die). Each reverse a number following the letter P (Punch-die). Each recorded specimen of the same die-combination is lettered *a*, *b*, *c*, etc. Thus 76 *b* is

the specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris from the obverse die A 39 and the reverse P 51.

To show the complete die-sequence all the finest available coins have been illustrated on the plates; in this way it is easier to follow the interlacing of the dies. When two specimens complete each other, both have been illustrated. As all the coins were struck with loose dies, the relative position of the dies has been omitted.³⁹ The weight of each coin has been noted when available; the results of a Hill-Robinson frequency-table are indicated afterwards.

The wing of the Pegasos, being the part that shows the greatest variety in shape, is the essential feature of the obverse. An accurate description of it is therefore obligatory to recognize the different dies. As the terms employed may be wrongly interpreted, the cut on the preceding page is necessary.

CATALOGUE OF TYPES

I PERIOD, FROM 480 TO 456 B.C.

Group A

1 *A 1.* Pegasos bridled, the two bridle-reins visible, with curled wing, flying r. The upper part of the wing ⁴⁰ is composed of seven feathers. Head very long compared to the body. Beneath Pegasos, near l. hind-hoof, A.

P 1. Head of Athena r. wearing Corinthian helmet without neck-guard; hair in queue ending in a little knot. Eye in full face, the lips smiling. Around neck, a stringlike necklace. All within deep incuse square. **Pl. I.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.51, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* London, grm. 8.45, 18 mm. (Cat. Weber, 3828).
- c.* Glasgow, Hunterian Collection, 18 mm.
- d.* The Hague (Six Coll.), grm. 7.05, 18 mm. (very poor).
- e.* Cat. Egger, 1908, 493, grm. 8.45, 18 mm.

2 *A 1.* From the same die.

P 2. Similar head of Athena but smaller. **Pl. I.**

- a.* O. Ravel, Marseilles, grm. 8.65, 17x19 mm. (Naville XII, 1926, 1310).
- b.* Col. Godefroy, grm. 8.30, 18 mm.

3 *A 2.* Similar Pegasos, single bridle-rein visible. A slightly larger.

P 3. Similar head of Athena r.; in higher relief, hair wavy on forehead. Necklace of beads. All within deep incuse square. **Pl. I.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.72, 20 mm.
- b.* Cat. de Sartiges, 293, 21 mm.
- c.* Hirsch XXV, 1909, 1144, grm. 8.51, 20 mm.

4 *A 3.* Same Pegasos, probably from the same hub, both reins visible. A placed nearer the fore-legs.

P 4. Similar head of Athena r., only very slight differences.

- a.* Naville I (Pozzi), 1740, grm. 8.45, 20 mm.

5 *A 4.* Similar Pegasos flying r., the upper part of the wing composed of six feathers, two reins visible.

P 4. Same die. Pl. I.

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.60, 19 mm.
- b.* Berlin, 28633, grm. 7.99, 18x20 mm.
- c.* Cat. Sambon, 1923 (Picard), 458, 20 mm.
- d.* Naville VI, 1924 (Bement), 960, grm. 8.55, 19 mm.

6 *A 5.* A thinner Pegasos with wing less spread.

P 4. Same die. Pl. I.

- a.* Palermo hoard, 983, grm. 8.35, 20 mm.
- b.* Cambridge, McClean, 5096, grm. 8.38, 18 mm., pl. 185, 1.⁴¹
- c.* Turin, 20 mm.

7 *A 6.* Pegasos flying r., the upper part of the wing composed of five feathers, beneath, A.

P 3. Same die. Pl. I.

- a.* Copenhagen, grm. 8.54, 19 mm.
- b.* von Gwinner, grm. 8.63, 20 mm. Dr. Ph. Lederer, Seltene Griech. Mün. der Samml. A. v. Gwinner, Berliner Münzblätter, 1916, taf. 2, 12.

Group B

8 *A 7.* Pegasos, bridled, with curled wing, flying r., the upper part of the wing composed of four feathers. The body is short and plump, head better proportioned; very high relief. Beneath, large archaic A.

P 5. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet without neck-guard, grape cluster earring and necklace of beads. Hair in queue ending in a knot; to l., ivy-branch with three berries and two leaves, all within deep incuse square. **Pl. I.**

a. O. Ravel, Marseilles, grm. 8.50, 16 mm., ex Naville, I, 1741 (Pozzi coll.).

b. London, 2a, grm. 8.70, 17 mm.

9 *A 8.* Similar Pegasos r., differs from *A 7* in row of small feathers, in position of forelegs as well as in position of *A*.

P 5. Same die. **Pl. I.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.69, 17 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.26, 15x17 mm., B.M. Cat., pl. XXVII, 1.

c. London, 2, grm. 8.23, 15x17 mm.

d. Cat. Naville VI, 1924, 962 (Bement), grm. 8.62, 18 mm., ex Sotheby, 1916 (Headlam), 371.

e. Copenhagen, grm. 8.68, 17 mm.

f. Brussels, grm. 7.83 (very poor), 18 mm.

g. Comte Chandon de Briailles, grm. 8.20, 18 mm.

10 *A 8.* Same die.

P 6. Similar head to r., ivy-branch with larger leaves. **Pl. I.**

a. Gotha, grm. 8.73, 17 mm.

11 *A 9.* Similar Pegasos, but slightly larger. Upper part of the wing composed of five feathers.

P 6. Same die. **Pl. I.**

26 THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

- a. Brussels, grm. 8.40, 17 mm.
- b. Berlin (Prokesch-Osten), grm. 8.34, 18 mm.
- c. Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer), grm. 8.03 (worn), 18x20 mm.
- d. G. Empedocles, Athens, grm. 8.46, 18 mm. (ex Naville I, Pozzi, 1743).
- e. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.55, 16x19 mm. (ex Naville I, Pozzi, 1742, and Egger, 1908, 494).
- f. P. Mathey, Paris, grm. 8.50, 18 mm.
- g. Cat. de Sartiges, 292, 18 mm.
- h. Cat. Naville VI, 1923 (Bement), 961, grm. 8.33, 18 mm.

II PERIOD, FROM 456 TO 426 B.C.

Group A

12 *A 10*. Pegasos unbridled with curled wing flying l.; under head, archaic A, beneath, serpent coiled round land-tortoise and striking at it. This symbol is placed near r. hind-hoof, the tortoise's head towards the body of Pegasos.

P 7. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet without neck-guard, hair falling loosely in long locks over the neck. On the top of the helmet stands a bull butting to l.; to l. in the angle of the die, A, sidewise; all within incuse square.

Pl. I.

- a. Berlin, grm. 8.51, 20 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).⁴²
- b. Berlin, grm. 8.25, 15x24 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- c. Cat. Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1745, grm. 8.17, 19 mm.

13 *A 10.* From the same die.

P 8. Same head but slightly thinner, helmet longer, bull smaller, no letter visible.

a. The Hague (Six), grm. 7.30, 18x20 mm. (very poor).

14 *A 11.* Similar to the above; between the symbol and r. hind-leg a crosslike mark or letter.

P 9. Similar head of Athena l. but wearing neck-guard under Corinthian helmet. Bull standing with its hind-legs on the edge of the neck-guard, butting vertically downwards; to l., A, all within incuse square. **Pl. II.**

a. O. Ravel, Marseilles, grm. 8.15, 19 mm.

15 *A 11.* Same die.

P 8. Same die as 13. **Pl. II.**

a. Munich, grm. 8.66, 18x21 mm.

16 *A 11.* Same die.

P 10. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard, long loose locks coming out from it. To r. kerykeion, all within incuse square; to l., A. **Pl. II.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.30, 18 mm.

b. Hirsch XXXIV, 1914, 408, grm. 8.20, 20 mm.

17 *A 12.* Pegasos as above, but neck and upper part of the wing longer, fore-legs more apart. The symbol is differently placed, the

tortoise's head is to l., the serpent's head is under l. fore-hoof. No crosslike sign.

P 7. Same die as 12. **Pl. II.**

a. London, 17, grm. 8.50, 16x20 mm., B. M. Cat., pl. XXVII, 14. E. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 125, 267, pl. CCLXXX, 6.

b. Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 384, grm. 8.27, 21 mm.

18 *A* 12. Same die.

P 11. Similar head to *P* 10, but smaller, to l., *A*, to r. kerykeion, all within incuse square.

Pl. II.

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.09, 18 mm.

19 *A* 13. Similar Pegasos, but wing smaller, symbol smaller and nearer the body.

P 11. Same die. **Pl. II.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.35, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer), Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 126, 268.⁴³

b. Gotha, grm. 8.48, 18x22 mm.

20 *A* 13. Same die.

P 10. Same die as 16. **Pl. II.**

a. London, 49, grm. 8.26, 17x20 mm, B. M. Cat., pl. XXIX, 5.⁴⁴ E. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 142, 312.⁴⁵

b. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.48, 19 mm.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.44, 20 mm.

d. Hirsch XXVI, 1910, 517, grm. 8.48, 22 mm.

Group B

21 *A 14.* Pegasos unbridled, with straight wing, flying r.; beneath, A.

P 4. Same die as 5. **Pl. II.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.29, 17x20 mm.

22 *A 14.* Same die.

P 12. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet without neck-guard, hair in long wavy locks over neck, incuse square. **Pl. II.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.15, 20 mm.

23 *A 14.* Same die.

P 13. Similar head l., hair more curly; incuse square. **Pl. II.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.35, 22 mm.

24 *A 14.* Same die. (Pegasos badly struck, looks larger.)

P 14. Similar head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet over very small neck-guard, long locks coming down over neck, at r. a crab to l. **Pl. II.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.25, 17x20 mm.

25 *A 15.* Similar Pegasos to r., but larger.

P 14. Same die. **Pl. II.**

a. Gotha, grm. 8.43, 16x19 mm.

30 THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

26 *A 16.* Pegasos, unbridled, flying l., body fat, wing very large, edge beginning from near the head.

P 14. Same die. **Pl. III.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.09, 17x19 mm.

27 *A 17.* Similar Pegasos with straight wing, flying l. Edge of wing ⁴⁶ parallel to the body; beneath, A.

P 15. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet without neck-guard, hair in long locks falling down on neck and covering it completely; to r. behind the neck, kantharos; incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 7.87, 19 mm.

28 *A 17.* Same die.

P 16. Similar head, hair in short curly locks partially covering the neck, to r. in lower corner of incuse, kantharos. **Pl. III.**

a. London, grm. 8.38, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 37, pl. XXVIII, 15. Babelon Tr., t. IV, 134, 289, pl. CCLXXXI, 11.

29 *A 17.* Same die.

P 17. Head of Athena to r. wearing neck-guard under helmet; to l. large club, all within incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. London, grm. 8.40, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., Dyrrhachium, 1, pl. XXVI, 2. E. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 186, 386, pl. CCXXXV, 7.⁴⁷

30 *A 18.* Similar Pegasos flying l., body and legs longer; beneath, A.

P 18. Similar to P 13, only club thinner and differently placed. **Pl. III.**

a. O. Ravel, Marseilles, grm. 8.35, 20 mm. (ex Naville XII, 1926, 1303, Dyrrhachium).⁴⁸

31 *A 19.* Similar Pegasos, body longer, edge of the wing not parallel to the body, but slanting upwards; beneath, archaic A.

P 19. Similar head of Athena l., no symbol visible. **Pl. III.**

a. Turin, 17x19 mm.

32 *A 20.* Pegasos flying l., body fat, wing very large, edge beginning from near the head, beneath fore-legs, A.

P 20. Athena's head as previously, only to r.; to r. laurel-leaf (or grain of barley); to l. small A; incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.36, 19 mm., Cat. McClean, 5101, pl. 185, 6.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.29, 21 mm., Imhoof-Blumer.

c. Hirsch XXXI, 1911, 410, grm. 8.34, 20 mm. (Leucas).

d. Egger, 1912 (Coll. Prowe), 1067, grm. 8.09, 20 mm. (Leucas).

33 *A 21.* Same, but A differently placed.

P 21. Similar, head r., to l. ivy-leaf, incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. Munich, grm. 8.23, 19 mm.

Group C

34 *A 22.* Pegasos unbridled with straight wing flying l., similar to A 19, but body shorter and head raised; beneath, A.

P 22. Very similar to P 10 (pl. II); the nose of the goddess and her chin are more pointed and the neck-guard is larger; to l., A, to r., kerykeion. Traces of incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.35, 17x19 mm.

35 *A 22.* Same die.

P 23. Similar head, but larger; to l., A, to r., kerykeion, traces of incuse square. **Pl. III.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.12, 19x21 mm.

36 *A 22.* Same die.

P 24. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard, to l., dagger in scabbard, incuse square. The eye of the goddess is almost facing. **Pl. III.**

a. London, B. M. Cat., Uncertain mints, 4, pl. XXIX, 3, grm. 8.32, 16x22 mm. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 125, 271, pl. CCLXXX, 10.

37 *A 22.* Same die.

P 25. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive-wreath, symbol to l. off-flan, in the r. corner of incuse square, A with its cross-piece parallel to outer line of the helmet. **Pl. III.**

a. London, grm. 8.37, 15x18 mm., B. M. Cat., 45.

38 *A 23.* Similar Pegasos; the only difference is that the first feather of the small ones is shorter and the third long feather is bent downwards.

P 26. Athena, head to l., with short locks and very small neck-guard. Eye almost facing; over the helmet to l., A. To r. a wreath encircling a kerykeion. This symbol, clearly visible in the reproduction, is formed by a circle with twelve pellets disposed in four groups of three round it. The kerykeion is superimposed; near its staff, inside the circle, there are two additional pellets on each side.

Pl. IV.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.18, 18 mm., Löbbbecke.

39 *A 23.* Same die.

P 27. Head of Athena similar to that of die P 10, but helmet bound with olive-wreath. To r., kerykeion placed vertically, all within incuse square.

Pl. IV.

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.36, 18 mm. (found in Pachino, Sicily).

b. Berlin, grm. 8.34, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

40 *A 23.* Same die.

P 28. Head of Athena r., wearing helmet over small neck-guard and necklace of large beads; to l., large archaic A; to r., Nike flying to l., holding outstretched fillet over the goddess' helmet. The whole within incuse square.

Pl. IV.

34 THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.53, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.36, 18x23 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* Cambridge, grm. 8.50, 18x22 mm. (Cat. McClean, 5102, pl. 185, 7).⁴⁹
- d.* Egger, 1908, 491, grm. 8.25,⁵⁰ 23 mm.

41 *A 23.* Same die.

P 23. Same die as 35.

Pl. IV.

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.20, 19 mm.

b. Naples hoard, 41, 18 mm.

42 *A 23.* Same die.

P 29. Head of Athena r., of very coarse style. Neck-guard very large, eye protruding, chin abnormally large; to l., kerykeion. **Pl. IV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.20, 17 mm.

43 *A 24.* Similar Pegasos. Legs and tail longer; beneath, A.

P 30. Similar head of Athena r. Style a little better, eye still protruding; to r. in the upper corner of incuse square, A; to l., obelisk of Ambracia on a large base. **Pl. IV.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.31, 19 mm.

b. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.49, 18x20 mm.

c. Athens, grm. 8.29,⁵¹ 17x22 mm.

d. Berlin, grm. 7.98, 17x23 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

e. O. Ravel, grm. 8.57, 18 mm., found near Catania.

f. Commerce (Paris), very poor, 18 mm.

III. PERIOD FROM 426 TO 404 B.C.

Group A

44 *A 25.* Pegasos of high relief, with straight wing, flying r., mane long, head large, first feather of wing ⁵² the longest.

P 31. Athena's head r., wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive, hair in spiral curls over cheek and neck; to l., kerykeion; A in the r. upper corner of incuse square. **Pl. IV.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 7.98, 19 mm.

45 *A 26.* Pegasos of very high relief, flying r., coarse style, body heavy and clumsy, legs very thick.

P 31. Same die. **Pl. IV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.12, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

b. Paris, grm. 8.43, 18x21 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 141, 311, pl. CCLXXXII, 8.

c. London, grm. 7.90, 18x21 mm., B. M. Cat., 47.

46 *A 27.* Similar Pegasos but of better style, second feather the longest; outline of second wing visible, legs thinner.

P 32. Similar head but helmet plain; to l., kerykeion above a large archaic A. **Pl. IV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.66, 17x20 mm. (Fox).

b. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.10, 21 mm.

36 THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

47 *A 27.* Same die with diagonal fracture under Pegasos.

P 31. Same die as 44. **Pl. IV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.19, 17x20 mm. (Löbbecke).

b. London, grm. 8.35, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 46, pl. XXIX, 4.

c. Naples hoard, 40, 20 mm.

48 *A 27.* Same die.

P 26. Same die as No. 38. **Pl. IV.**

a. London, 10a, grm. 8.29, 20 mm.

49 *A 27.* Same die with same fracture.

P 33. Similar head to *P 32*, face shorter; to l., kerykeion with short staff, to r. in the upper corner of incuse square A. **Pl. V.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.36, 20 mm. (Löbbecke).

50 *A 28.* Similar Pegasos but second wing not visible, hind-legs nearer together.

P 32. Same die as 46, large flaw over helmet and under neck truncation. **Pl. V.**

a. London, grm. 8.45, B. M. Cat., 48, 18x23 mm.

51 *A 28.* Same die.

P 26. Same die as 38 (pl. IV). **Pl. V.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.32, 18 mm.

b. The Hague, grm. 8.50, 20 mm. (Six).

52 *A 29*. Similar Pegasos flying r., hind-legs more apart and fore-legs less bent.

P 33. Same die as 49. **Pl. V.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.04, 17x20 mm.

53 *A 29*. Same die.

P 31. Same die as 44 (pl. IV). **Pl. V.**

a. Munich, grm. 7.89, 18 mm.

Group B

54 *A 30*. Pegasos unbridled flying r. Row of small feathers ⁵² in a straight line beginning from the edge of the wing to the r. shoulder.

P 34. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard; to l., large archaic A, to r., in front of the helmet, strung bow. Traces of incuse square. **Pl. V.**

a. London, grm. 8.10, 15x18 mm., B. M. Cat., 41, Pl. XXIX, 2. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 137, 299.⁵³

55 *A 30*. Same die.

P 35. Similar head r., to l., large A, to r., ivy-leaf, incuse square. **Pl. V.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.13, 17 mm.

b. Berlin, grm. 7.93, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

c. Paris, grm. 8.45, 18 mm., Babelon Tr., IV, p. 126, 269, pl. CCLXXX, 8.

d. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.19, 18 mm.

56 *A 31.* Similar Pegasos, slightly larger and of higher relief. The edge of the wing is not straight but a wavy line; the outer feathers just above the body point downward.

P 34. Same die as 54. **Pl. V.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.55, 15x17 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.57, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- c.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.55, 17 mm.
- d.* The Hague, grm. 8.52, 18 mm. (Six), Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 45, Alyzia, 45, pl. CCLXXII, 17. Imhoof-Blumer M.A., p. 47, 1.⁵⁴

57 *A 31.* Same die.

P 36. Similar head r.; to r., hound running to l.; to l., large A; incuse square. **Pl. V.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.19, 18 mm. (Löbbecke). Babelon, l.c., p. 111, 247, Argos.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.26, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- c.* Paris, uncertain mints, 1106, 18 mm.
- d.* G. Empedocles, grm. 8.89, 18 mm.
- e.* London, grm. 8.60, 18x22 mm., B. M. Cat., 21, pl. XXVIII, 3. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 125, 272, pl. CCLXXX, 11. Imhoof-Blumer M. A., p. 83, Argos,⁵⁴ 2.
- f.* Comte Chaudon de Briailles, grm. 8.36, 20 mm.

58 *A 31.* Same die.

P 37. Similar head r.; to l., A, to r., crane with one leg raised. **Pl. V.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.30, 17 mm.
- b.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.17, 18 mm. (found in Trapani), Num. Chr., 5th Ser., p. 4, 1926, pl. XX, 14.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.20, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

- d.* Glasgow, grm. 8.40, 19 mm. (Hunterian coll.).
- e.* London, grm. 8.20, 16x20 mm., B. M. Cat., 5, uncertain mints, pl. XXXIX, 4.
- f.* O Ravel, grm. 8.35, mm.

Group C

59 *A 32.* Pegasos unbridled with straight wing flying l. Upper part of wing composed of four feathers, badly struck, only partly visible.

P 38. Head of Athena l., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard, to r., strigil; under chin, A, all within deep incuse square, in which head is placed diagonally. **Pl. V.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.34, 16x18 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.41, 20 mm.
- c.* London, grm. 8.36, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 52, pl. XXIX, 8.
- d.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.38, 18 mm.

60 *A 32.* Same die.

P 39. Similar to P 38 save that strigil is thinner. **Pl. VI.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.28, 18x19 mm.

61 *A 33.* Similar Pegasos flying l. Upper part of wing composed of three feathers. Coarse style.

P 40. Similar to P 39, but A to l. over helmet; traces of incuse square. **Pl. VI.**

- a.* London, grm. 8.36, B. M. Cat., 53, 15x18 mm.

62 *A 33.* Same die.

P 41. Similar head r., to l. A; to r. of helmet, dancing satyr to l., traces of incuse square. **Pl. VI.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.19, 17x19 mm.
- b.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.52, 18x22 mm.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.20, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- d.* Palermo, grm. 8.12, 18x22 mm.
- e.* Paris, uncertain mints, 1108, 19 mm.
- f.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.24, 18x21 mm., ex Naville XII, 1926, 1315.
- g.* Commerce, Marseilles, grm. 8.25, 21 mm.

63 *A 33.* Same die.

P 42. Similar head r., dancing satyr to l. much larger and less sketchy. **Pl. VI.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.11, 18x23 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* London, grm. 8.42, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 27, pl. XXVIII, 8. Babelon Tr., IV, p. 135, 292, pl. CCLXXXI, 14.⁵⁵
- c.* Munich, grm. 8.44, 20 mm.
- d.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.25, 18x21 mm.
- e.* G. Empedocles, grm. 8.32, 20 mm.
- f.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.57, 18x20 mm.

Group D

64 *A 34.* Pegasos flying l.; body and especially hind-quarters very large. Head and wing small; beneath, A.

P 43. Head of Athena r. as on die *P 42.* To l., naked winged male figure, standing facing, head to r., holding taenia in both hands (Eros?).⁵⁶

Pl. VI.

a. London, grm. 8.55, 18x22 mm., B. M. Cat., 31, pl. XXVIII, 11.

b. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.35, 20 mm., Cat. Sotheby, 1920, 57.

c. London, grm. 8.36, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 32.

d. Paris, grm. 8.55, 18x21 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 137, 296, pl. CCLXXXI, 18.

65 *A 35.* Similar Pegasos to l. better proportioned, head and neck larger; beneath, A.

P 44. Head of Athena l., to r., small plump owl facing. **Pl. VI.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.28, 20 mm., Cat. McClean, 5118, pl. 186, 3.⁵⁷

b. Berlin, grm. 8.22, 22 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

c. The Hague, grm. 8.45, 22 mm. (Six).

d. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.52, 18x22 mm.

e. O. Ravel, grm. 8.35, 19x22 mm., ex Naville XII, 1926, 1315.

f. Cat. de Sartiges, 296, 20 mm.

66 *A 35.* Same die.

P 43. Same die as 64. **Pl. VI.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.21, 15x21 mm.

67 *A 36.* Pegasos flying r., edge of the wing parallel to the body; beneath, A.

P 45. Same head as on die P 43, to l. large fly. **Pl. VI.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.70, 19 mm., Cat. McClean coll., 5106, pl. 185, 11.⁵⁹

68 *A 36.* Same die.

P 46. Same head r., to l. crab; flaw in the upper corner of incuse square. **Pl. VI.**

a. London, grm. 8.56, 15x18 mm., B. M. Cat., 22, pl. XXVIII, 4.

b. Paris, grm. 8.57, 20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 182, 287, pl. CCLXXXI, 9.

c. Naples hoard, 36, 21 mm.

d. Cat. de Sartiges, 297, 21 mm.

69 *A 36.* Same die.

P 47. Same head r., to l., large owl almost facing. Linear fracture over Athena's neck and chin. **Pl. VI.**

a. Glasgow, grm. 8.45, 18x21 mm. (Hunterian coll.).

b. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.42, 18x22 mm.

c. Dr. E. P. Robinson, Newport.

d. Hirsch 1909, XXV, 1148 (Philipsen), grm. 8.40, 22 mm.

70 *A 36.* Same die.

P 48. Similar head of Athena l., to r., owl to l. **Pl. VI.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.50, 19 mm.

b. Munich, grm. 8.78, 21 mm.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.28, 19 mm.

d. O. Ravel, grm. 8.56, 21 mm.

e. Egger, 1908, 497, grm. 8.45, 18x22 mm.

f. Naville VI, 1924 (Bement coll.), 964, grm. 8.45, 9 mm.

g. Naville XII, 1926, 1314, grm. 8.48, 21 mm.

h. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.45, 18x24 mm.

i. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.30, 17x21 mm.

j. Commerce, Marseilles, grm. 8.40, 20 mm.

71 *A 36.* Same die.

P 49. Same head l., to r. small owl to l.
Pl. VII.

a. Brussels, grm. 8.05, 18x20 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.50, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 14, pl. XXVII, 11.

c. Berlin, grm. 8.29, 20 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

d. Berlin, grm. 8.30, 22 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

e. Naples hoard, 34, 22 mm.

f. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.45, 18x22 mm.

g. Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.35, 23x19 mm.

h. Naville V, 1923, grm. 8.45, 18x20 mm.

i. Commerce, Paris, grm. 8.05, 20 mm.

72 *A 37.* Similar Pegasos, but smaller; beneath, A.

P 45. Same die as 67. Pl. VII.

a. London, grm. 8.60, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., 53a. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 134, 288, pl. CCLXXXI, 10.⁵⁸

b. The Hague, grm. 8.50, 23 mm. (Six).

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.41, 20 mm.

73 *A 37.* Same die.

P 46. Same die as 68. Flaw larger.
Pl. VII.

a. Copenhagen, grm. 8.63, 17x20 mm.

b. Munich, grm. 8.04, 22 mm.

c. Paris, uncertain mints, 1104, 21 mm.

d. Naville, 1920 (Pozzi), 1748, ex Egger, 1908, 498, grm. 8.60, 19 mm.

74 *A 37.* Same die.

P 47. Same die as 69. **Pl. VII.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.44, 16x20 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.43, 21 mm.; B. M. Cat., 15, pl. XXVII, 12.

c. Berlin, grm. 8.50, 22 mm. (Löbbecke).

d. Berlin, 255, grm. 8.40, 18x21 mm.

e. O. Ravel, grm. 8.39, 20x23 mm., ex Naville VI, 1924 (Bement), 965.

f. Egger, 1906, 348, grm. 8.58, 19 mm.

g. Egger, 1908, 496, grm. 8.40, 20 mm.

h. Cat. de Sartiges, 295, 20 mm.

i. Hirsch 1914, XXXIV, 407, grm. 8.45, 20 mm.

Group E

75 *A 38.* Pegasos unbridled flying r.; beneath, A. Upper part of the wing composed of five feathers, the first pointed, the others rounded.

P 50. Small head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard, to l., $\triangleright$, all within wreath of ivy-leaves with berries.

Pl. VII.

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 7.45, 22 mm.

b. Sir C. W. C. Oman, 22 mm.

c. Dr. Petzalis, 20 mm.

d. Dr. Bernhard, grm. 8.20, 22 mm.

76 *A 39.* Similar Pegasos r. Same wing, body larger; beneath, AM.

P 51. Similar head r.; to l., cock; to r. AMHPAKIΩTAN (retrograde). **Pl. VII.**

a. London, grm. 8.31, 18x25 mm., B. M. Cat., 3, pl. XXVII, 2. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 127, 275, pl. CCLXXX, 13.

- b.* Paris, grm. 7.96, 19 mm.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.35, 21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- d.* G. Empedocles, Athens, grm. 8.02, 18x21 mm.,
Cat. Naville XII, 1926, 1311.
- e.* Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 379, grm. 8.46, 21 mm.
- f.* E. T. Newell, ex Naville, V, 1923, 2128, grm. 8.34,
20 mm.
- g.* Naville V, 1923, 2129, grm. 8.61, 18x21 mm.
- h.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.15, 17x25 mm.

77 *A 39.* Same die.

P 52. Similar head r., but larger; to l.
spike-fish (Scorpena), to r. in front of the helmet
AM. **Pl. VII.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.20, 20 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

78 *A 40.* Similar Pegasos but flying l.; be-
neath, AM.

P 53. Larger head of Athena r., to l.
lion's head in profile to r., its tongue out; to r.
A M II. **Pl. VII.**

- a.* Paris, grm. 8.45, 23 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 131,
282, pl. CCLXXXI, 4.
- b.* Munich, grm. 8.54, 22 mm.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.36, 20 mm., 28638.

79 *A 40.* Same die.

P 54. Probably same die as previous, to
r., in the place of the II, a locust facing l.

- a.* Cat. de Sartiges, 298, pl. XVII, 20 mm.

80 *A 39.* Same die as 76.

P 54. Same die.

Pl. VII.

a. Paris, grm. 8.45, 19 mm.

Group F

81 *A 41.* Pegasos unbridled flying l. Head large, slightly bent, and almost facing; upper part of the wing composed of six feathers; beneath, A.

P 55. Small head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard; to l. thunderbolt. Linear frame (?) within deep incuse square.

Pl. VII.

a. Copenhagen, grm. 8.19, 20 mm.

b. Hoyt Miller, grm. 7.52, 18x23 mm.

c. Paris, uncertain mints, 1124, 20 mm.

82 *A 41.* Same die.

P 56. Similar head r., slightly larger; to l. thunderbolt, the upper part shaped like lily-bud, the lower part with two volutes curled outwards and three waved flame lines, as on certain coins of Olympia.⁶² All within incuse square, without linear frame.

Pl. VII.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.32, 21 mm. (Löbbecke).

b. Paris, grm. 8.35, 18x21 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 126, 274, pl. CCLXXX, 12.

83 *A 41.* Same die.

P 57. Large head of Athena l.; to r. small K and vertical thunderbolt, the upper part with

two volutes, a central dart and two waved flame lines (cf. No. 87a). **Pl. VIII.**

a. Naples hoard, 42, 21 mm.

84 *A 41.* Same die.

P 58. Very small head of Athena l. within laurel-wreath. **Pl. VIII.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.52, 22 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

85 *A 41.* Same die.

P 59. Same but on helmet A. Probably from the same die as previous, the civic initial having been cut afterwards. **Pl. VIII.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.16, 21 mm.

b. Egger, 1912, Prowe, 1059, grm. 8.56, 21 mm.

86 *A 41.* Same die.

P 60. Similar to P 58, to r. small vertical thunderbolt. **Pl. VIII.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.25, 21 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

b. G. Empedocles, grm. 7.65, 18x20 mm.

c. Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1733, grm. 8.26, 18x20 mm., ex Egger, 1908, 502.

87 *A 42.* Similar Pegasos flying l. The upper part of the wing is composed of seven feathers; beneath, A.

P 57. Same die as 83. **Pl. VIII.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.37, 21 mm.

b. Athens, grm. 8.11, 20 mm.

c. Paris, grm. 8.25, 20 mm.

d. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.43, 21 mm.

88 *A 42*. Same die.

P 60. Same die as 86. Pl. VIII.

a. London, grm. 8.40, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 51, pl. XXIX, 7. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 139, 303, pl. CCLXXXI, 3.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.31, 21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

c. Copenhagen, grm. 8.28, 20 mm.

d. Dr. Bernhard, grm. 8.28, 21 mm.

e. Coll. Godefroy, Paris, grm. 8.12, 20 mm.

f. O. Ravel, grm. 8.15, 18x21 mm., from Ratto, 1923, III, 640, pl. VII, 9.

89 *A 43*. Similar Pegasos, upper part of the wing composed of only six feathers, the third the longest; beneath, A.

P 60. Same die. Pl. VIII.

a. S. P. Noe, grm. 8.05, 18 mm.

IV PERIOD, FROM 404 TO 360 B.C.

Group A

90 *A 44*. Pegasos unbridled, with straight wing, flying l. Head in profile, raised, with both ears visible; beneath, A.

P 61. Head of Athena l. wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard on which small A: under chin, Δ; to upper left, A, to r., ⌘ and spear-head. Pl. VIII.

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.47, 20x23 mm., ex Naville, XII, 1926, 1318.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.10, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

c. London, grm. 8.29, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., 44. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 139, 308.⁶³

d. Vienna, grm. 8.47, 17 mm.

e. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.66, 18x23 mm.

f. Sir C. W. C. Oman, Oxford.

g. Coll. Godefroy, Paris, grm. 8.70, 17 mm., Num. Chr., 5th Series, 1926, p. 4, pl. XX, n. 13.

h. Mrs. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.22, 19 mm.

91 *A 44.* Same die.

P 62. Similar, but spear-head is larger.

Pl. VIII.

a. Munich, grm. 8.43, 18x22 mm., ex Egger, 1908, 501.

92 *A 44.* Same die. Some specimens show several flaws under the Pegasos, two linear ones near the A. The civic letter looks therefore like the monogram of Anactorium.^{63a}

P 63. Head of Athena r. wearing over neck-guard Corinthian helmet on which A. To l. grasshopper (*Grillus campestris*).

Pl. VIII.

a. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.45, 19 mm.

b. Athens, grm. 8.20, 20x22 mm.

c. Copenhagen, grm. 8.10, 21 mm., from the Cat. Hirsch, XXXIV, 1914, 409.

d. Paris, "Uncertain Mints," n. 1113, 21 mm.

e. Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.11, 21 mm.

f. O. Ravel, grm. 8.25, 19 mm., found near Catania, Num. Chr., 5th Ser., 1926, p. 4, pl. XXI, 1.

g. Hirsch XXX, 1911 (Barron coll.), 536, grm. 8.29, 20 mm. Anactorium.

h. Hoyt Miller, 20x23 mm.

93 *A 44*. Same die, same flaws.

P 64. Similar head r. in higher relief, neck-guard larger, under truncation of neck AH, to r. large $\triangleleft$, to l., Ξ and branch of thistle.⁶⁴

Pl. VIII.

a. London, grm. 8.37, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., 3, Anactorium, pl. XXXI, 3. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 91, 194, pl. CCLXXVIII, 1.⁶⁵

b. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.57, 19 mm.

c. O. Ravel, grm. 8.20, 21 mm., pl. VIII. Num. Chr., 5th Ser., 1926, p. 4, pl. XXI, 2.

d. Egger, 1908, 508, grm. 8.60, 17 mm. (Anactorium).

e. W. Gedney Beatty, New York, grm. 8.35.

94 *A 44*. Same die, same flaws.

P 65. Similar head of Athena r.; beneath truncation of neck HA, to l. Ξ , below which Pan with goat's head and legs r. carrying a branch over his shoulder, before him, under his left elbow a very small A, to r. $\triangleleft$.

Pl. IX.

a. London, grm. 8.48, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 1, Anactorium, pl. XXXI, 1. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 91, 193, pl. CCLXXVII, 20.⁶⁶

b. London, grm. 8.42, 18 mm, op. c., 2, pl. XXXI, 2. Babelon, same plate, 21.

c. Berlin, grm. 8.35, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

d. Berlin, grm. 8.43, 19 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

e. O. Ravel, Marseilles, grm. 8.45, 19 mm., f. the Canessa sale, 1922, 438, pl. XX; Num. Chr., 5th Ser., 1926, p. 4, pl. XXI, 3.

95. *A 44*. Same die, same flaws.

P 66. Similar head of Athena r., but larger; to l. NA, to r., Pan's head in profile to l.

Pl. IX.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.34, 20x22 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

b. Berlin, grm. 8.21, 20 mm.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.38, 20 mm.

d. O. Ravel, grm. 8.78, 21 mm.

e. Commerce, Paris (very poor), 20 mm.

96. *A 44*. Same die.

P 67. Similar head; the symbol is nearer the helmet.

Pl. IX.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.47, 19x21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

97. *A 45*. Similar Pegasos slightly smaller, and small feathers shorter.

P 63. Same die as 92. **Pl. IX.**

a. London, grm. 8.42, 19 mm., Cat. Weber Coll., 3830.

Group B

98. *A 46*. Pegasos, unbridled, flying r.; beneath, A. Head small, slightly bent and almost facing, body long and thin, tail exceptionally long and wavy; the top of the curve is even with the fourth feather of the wing. The A, visible on some specimens, is gradually obliterated.

P 64. Same die as 93. **Pl. IX.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 7.15, 20 mm. (overcleaned specimen).

99 *A 46.* Same die.

P 65. Same die as 94.

Pl. IX.

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.40, 21 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.27, 22 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- c.* Athens, grm. 8.40, 23 mm.
- d.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.04, 21 mm.
- e.* O. Ravel, grm. 7.95, 19x24 mm.

100 *A 46.* Same die.

P 68. AMIPAKIOTAN around to l.; head of Athena l., the eye of the goddess almost full-face; to r., tripod.

Pl. IX.

- a.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.35, 21 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.41, 21 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.36, 22 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- d.* Berlin, grm. 8.27, 20 mm., 28633.
- e.* Cambridge, grm. 8.23, 21 mm., Cat. McClean coll., 5113, pl. 185, 18.
- f.* Milan, Castello Sforzesco, 21 mm.
- g.* The Hague, grm. 8.25, 22 mm.
- h.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.42, 24 mm.
- i.* Hirsch XXXIV, 405, grm. 8.35, 20 mm.
- j.* Naville V, 1923, 2130, grm. 8.23, 20 mm.

101 *A 46.* Same die.

P 69. AMIPAKIOTAN around to l.; head similar to 100; to r., flaming torch.

Pl. IX.

- a.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.44, 21 mm., ex Hirsch XXV, 1909, 1147 (Philipsen).
- b.* Dr. Petzalis, Athens, 20x22 mm.
- c.* Egger, 1908, 505, grm. 8.15, 21 mm.

102 *A 47.* Similar Pegasos r. Head in profile, tail shorter—does not pass the level of the hind-quarters; beneath, A.

P 70. ΑΜΠΡΑΚΙΩΤΑΝ around to l.; same head, to r., lyre (chelys). **Pl. IX.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.30, 19 mm.

b. Athens, grm. 8.31, 21 mm.

c. Paris, grm. 8.40, 20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 129, pl. CCLXXX, 18.

103 *A 47.* Same die.

P 69. Same die as 101. **Pl. IX.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.55, 24x30 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

b. Berlin, grm. 8.46, 22 mm. (Löbbecke).

c. Brussels, grm. 8.50, 21 mm.

d. Naples, Santangelo, 10317, 21 mm.

e. The Hague, grm. 8.20, 21 mm. (Six).

f. Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.16, 20x25 mm.

g. Ratto, III, 1923, 639, pl. VII, grm. 8.50, 20x24 mm. (coin pierced).

104 *A 47.* Same die.

P 68. Same die as 100. **Pl. IX.**

a. Brussels, grm. 8.25, 23 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.37, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 7, pl. XXVII, 6.

105 *A 48.* Pegasos, unbridled, flying r. Body short and plump, edge of the wing curved, long feathers slightly bent towards the tail, A beneath.

P 70. Same die as 102. **Pl. IX.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.13, 21 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.51, 19 mm., 28784.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.47, 18x21 mm. (Fox).
- d.* Copenhagen, grm. 7.89, 20 mm.
- e.* Cambridge, grm. 8.31, 18x22 mm., Cat. McClean coll., 5111, pl. 185, 16.
- f.* Munich, grm. 8.53, 18x22 mm.
- g.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.45, 19 mm.
- h.* London, grm. 8.40, 23 mm., B. M. Cat., 8, pl. XXVII, 7.
- i.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 7.76, 22 mm.
- j.* Sotheby, 1921, 244, 20 mm.
- h.* Naville XII, 1926, 1312, grm. 7.00, 19 mm. (over-cleaned).

106 *A 48.* Same die.

P 71. AMBPAKIΩTAN around to 1. Same head 1., but smaller, eye almost full-face. Behind, to r., girl clad in long chiton, standing 1. near a kottabos pole which she holds with her l. hand. With her r. hand she is about to seize the *πλάστιγξ* at the end of the pole (*ῥάβδος κοτταβική*). The pole has at the lower end a stand formed of three legs and at about half-way up between the foot and the top there is a *κοττάβειον*. **Pl. X.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.49, 21 mm., 7175.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.17, 18x22 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- c.* Cambridge, grm. 8.40, 19x22 mm., ex Hirsch XVIII, 1907, 2397, Cat. McClean coll., 5115, pl. 185, 20 (coin pierced).
- d.* London, grm. 8.45, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 5, pl. XXVII, 4.
- e.* Munich, grm. 8.44, 20 mm.
- f.* Vienna, grm. 8.48, 19 mm.

- g.* Paris, grm. 8.46, 20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 130, 276, pl. CCLXXX, 14.
- h.* Paris, grm. 8.50, 21x23 mm., J. Babelon Cat. Coll. de Luynes, 1887, pl. LXXI.⁶⁷
- i.* Naples, Fiorelli, 6801, 20x22 mm.
- j.* The Hague, grm. 7.90, 20x22 mm.
- k.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.29, 21 mm.
- l.* Cat. de Sartiges, pl. XVI, 294, 20 mm.
- m.* Hirsch XXI, 1908 (Consul Weber), 1830, grm. 8.42, 20 mm.
- n.* Ratto, 1909, 2194, grm. 8.44, 20 mm.

107 *A 48.* Same die.

P 72. AMIIPAKIΩTAN around to l. Similar head l.; to r. uncertain symbol.

a. Ratto, 1927, 1096, grm. 8.27, 22 mm., ex Naville V, 1923, 2127.

108 *A 49.* Similar Pegasos r. Edge of the wing less rounded, on hind-quarters archaic A; beneath, A.

P 71. Same die as 106. **Pl. X.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.30, 20 mm.; ex Bement Coll., Naville, VI, 1924, 963, and Hirsch, XXXI, 1912, 380. Num. Chr., 1926, p. 4, pl. XX, 9.

109 *A 50.* Pegasos as on A 43, flying l., wing larger, feathers wider; beneath, A.

P 73. Similar to P 72; letters differently placed. **Pl. X.**

a. Commerce Naples, grm. 7.95, 20 mm.

110 *A 51*. Pegasos flying r., similar to 103, upper edge of the wing parallel to the body, small feathers slanting downwards; beneath, A.

P 73. Same die.

Pl. X.

- a*. O. Ravel, grm. 8.43, 18x22 mm.
- b*. Berlin, grm. 8.26, 19 mm. (Dänneberg).
- c*. Berlin, grm. 8.45, 17x20 mm. (Löbbecke).
- d*. Brussels, grm. 8.10, 20 mm.
- e*. Cambridge, grm. 8.05, 21 mm., McClean coll., 5112, pl. 185, 17.⁶⁸
- f*. Copenhagen, grm. 8.33, 17x21 mm.
- g*. London, grm. 7.78, 18x23 mm., B. M. Cat., 10.
- h*. London, grm. 8.29, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 12, pl. XXVII, 9.
- i*. Naples, 19 mm., Fiorelli, 6803.
- j*. Paris, grm. 8.15, 19 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 130, 279, pl. CCLXXX, 19.
- k*. Paris, grm. 8.27, 20x25 mm.
- l*. The Hague, grm. 7.70, 20 mm. (Six).
- m*. Vienna, grm. 8.79, 18x21 mm.
- n*. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.44, 22 mm.
- o*. Hoyt Miller, grm. 7.57, 18x22 mm.
- p*. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.49, 18x21 mm.
- q*. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.35, 16x22 mm.
- r*. Cat. W. de Moltheim, 1293, grm. 8.30,⁶⁹ 20 mm.
- s*. Hirsch XIII, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 2348, grm. 8.12, 20 mm.
- t*. Hirsch XXVI, 1910, 516, grm. 8.45, 20 mm.
- u*. Hirsch XXXIV, 1914, 406, grm. 8.46, 20x22 mm.

111 *A 52*. Similar Pegasos r. but smaller; beneath, large A.

P 74. Similar head l., eye of the goddess still full-face; to r. fore-part of a butting bull to l.

Pl. X.

- a.* Vienna, grm. 8.48, 17 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.24, 18 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* London, grm. 8.48, 21 mm., B. M. Cat., 18, pl. XXVII, 15. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 131, 280, pl. CCLXXXI, 2.
- d.* The Hague, grm. 8.50, 16x20 mm. (Six).

112 *A 52.* Same die.

P 75. Similar head l., no symbol visible.

Pl. X.

- a.* Vienna, grm. 8.31, 18x22 mm.

113 *A 52.* Same die.

P 76. Large head of Athena r. of quite different style; to r., A, to l., prow. Traces of incuse square.

Pl. X.

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.52, 20 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* London, grm. 8.49, 21 mm., B. M. Cat., 39, pl. XXIX, 1.
- c.* London, grm. 8.18, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 40.
- d.* Berlin, grm. 8.19, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- e.* Cambridge, grm. 8.44, 18 mm., Cat. McClean, 5109, pl. 185, 14.
- f.* Copenhagen, grm. 8.62, 19 mm.
- g.* Glasgow, Hunterian coll., 19 mm.
- h.* Munich, grm. 8.40, 18x22 mm.
- i.* Paris, grm. 8.52, 18 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 138, 298, pl. CCLXXXI, 20.⁷⁰
- j.* Vienna, grm. 8.43, 18 mm.
- k.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.16, 22 mm.
- l.* O. Ravel, grm. 7.96, 21 mm.
- m.* Hirsch XXX, 1911, 530, grm. 8.53, 19 mm.
- n.* Naville V, 1923, 2134, grm. 8.20, 18 mm.
- o.* Naville XII, 1926, 1316, grm. 8.51, 18 mm.

114 *A 52.* Same die.

P 77. Head of Athena as on die *P 73*, but ethnic is omitted; symbol off-flan.

a. Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1746, grm. 8.45, 19 mm.

Group C

115 *A 53.* Pegasos unbridled, flying l. First feather of the small feathers pointed and extending beyond the edge of the wing; upper part of the wing composed of seven feathers.

P 71. Same die as 106. Pl. X.

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.33, 16x18 mm.

116 *A 53.* Same die.

P 78. Head of Athena r. wearing neck-guard under Corinthian helmet, on which, A; to l. youthful river-god Arachthos, naked, horned, seated to r. on bull's head facing, clasping hands round l. knee; over the god's head APAT. . . .

Pl. X.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.34, 16 mm. (Löbbecke).

b. Cambridge, grm. 8.21, 17 mm., Cat. McClean, 5105, pl. 185, 10.⁷⁶

c. O. Ravel, grm. 8.40, 19 mm.

d. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.17.

117 *A 53.* Same die.

P 79. Head of Athena r., helmet very small; to l., A, to r. naked bearded hero, wearing conical pilos and armed with sword and oval shield. Pl. X.

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.33, 18 mm. (Fox).
- b.* Berlin, grm. 7.96, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- c.* Cambridge, grm. 8.28, 20 mm., Cat. McClean, 5104, pl. 185, 9.
- d.* Vienna, grm. 8.06, 17x23 mm.
- e.* Vienna, grm. 8.34, 18 mm.
- f.* de Loye, Nîmes, 18 mm.
- g.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 7.70, 17x21 mm. (coin pierced).

118 *A 53.* Same die.

P 80. Head of Athena r. wearing Corinthian helmet on which A, to r. a locust facing l. (πάρνοψ).⁷⁴

Pl. XI.

- a.* London, grm. 8.36, 21 mm., B. M. Cat., 25.
- b.* Munich, grm. 8.16, 17x20 mm.
- c.* Egger, 1908, 499, grm. 8.45, 15x20 mm.

119 *A 53.* Same die.

P 81. Head of Athena r. wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard on which A; to l. Gorgon's head facing with protruding tongue, disposed sideways, tongue towards the neck-guard (cf. pl. XII, 133).

Pl. XI.

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.25, 18 mm.

120 *A 53.* Same die.

P 82. Head of Athena r.; in front a flying male figure (Eros?) is binding an olive-wreath round helmet, on which A (cf. pl. XII, 129).

Pl. XI.

- a.* The Hague, grm. 7.05, 18x21 mm. (Six).
- b.* Naville V, 1923, 2133, grm. 8.21, 20 mm.

c. W. Gedney Beatty Coll., ex Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1750, and, Egger, 1908, 500, grm. 8.40, 16x21 mm.

d. J. Mavrogordato, grm. 8.09, 21 mm.

121 *A 54.* Similar Pegasos, but larger, flying
1. Head slightly bent, almost facing; archaic A
on hind-quarters.

P 71. Same die as 106. **Pl. XI.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.39, 20 mm.

b. Paris, grm. 8.40, 20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 130, 276,⁷¹ pl. CCLXXX, 16.

122 *A 54.* Same die.

P 83. Head of Athena r. wearing neck-guard under Corinthian helmet, on which A; to r. ΓΟΡΓΟΣ. To l. male, naked figure, wearing conical pilos and supporting himself on long staff in his l. hand. (Cf. pl. XI, 127.)

a. Hirsch XIII, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 2356, grm. 8.31, 23 mm.

123 *A 54.* Same die.

P 78a. Same die as *P 78* (pl. X, 116). The inscription APAT... over the god's head has been erased and replaced by ΑΡΑΘΘΟΣ in front of Athena's face. **Pl. XI.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.35, 19 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.45, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 28.

c. E. P. Robinson, Newport.

d. Hirsch, 1908, XXI (Consul Weber), 1832, grm. 8. 13, 21 mm.

e. Ratto, 1909, 2287, grm. 8.50, 18 mm.

f. Sotheby, 1920, 57, 20 mm.

124 *A 54.* Same die.

P 84. AMHPAKIΩTAN around to l. Head of Athena l. as on die *P 71*, eye almost full-face. To r. youthful naked male figure, wearing Corinthian helmet, standing l. with his r. hand raised to his head, long curls falling over neck. (Cf. 125*f*, the only specimen with the complete figure.) ⁷² **Pl. XI.**

a. Berlin, grm. 7.53, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

125 *A 55.* Similar Pegasos flying l., but smaller, head in profile and raised. Upper part of the wing composed of five large feathers; on hind-quarters, archaic A.

P 84. Same die. **Pl. XI.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.41, 20 mm., ex Egger, 1908, 495.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.34, 17x20 mm. (Löbbecke).

c. Copenhagen, grm. 8.16, 20 mm., Hirsch, 1909, XXV (Philipsen), 1146.

d. London, grm. 8.23, 21 mm., B. M. Cat., 6, pl. XXVII, 5. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 130, 227, pl. CCLXXX, 17.⁷³

e. O. Ravel, grm. 7.95, 20 mm.

f. Paris, 21x22 mm. (de Rothschild, 2686).

126 *A 55.* Same die.

P 78a. Same die as 123. **Pl. XI.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.34, 20 mm. (found near Catania), Num. Chr., 1926, p. 4, pl. XX, 10.

b. Berlin, grm. 7.59 (worn), 20 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

c. Copenhagen, grm. 7.77 (worn), 18 mm.

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d. London, grm. 8.30, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 28, pl. XXVIII, 9. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 135, 293, pl. CCLXXXI, 15.

e. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.34, 20 mm., ex Sotheby, 1920, 57.

f. Cat. de Sartiges, 299, 19x22 mm.

g. Naville VI, 966 (Bement), grm. 8.34, 20 mm.

127 *A 55.* Same die.

P 83. Same die as 122.

a. Paris, grm. 8.45, 16x20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 131, 281, pl. CCLXXXI, 3.⁹ **Pl. XI.**

128 *A 55.* Same die.

P 85. Head of Athena r. similar to *P 83* with *A* on the helmet, to l. youthful winged, naked, male figure riding dolphin to r. his hands clasped round left knee. **Pl. XI.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.43, 16x20 mm., ex Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 389.

129 *A 55.* Same die.

P 82. Same die as 120.

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.48, 20x23 mm., ex Hirsch XXX, 1911, 527, and Ratto, 1912, 692. Num. Chr., 1926, p. 312, pl. XX, 11. **Pl. XI.**

b. Berlin, grm. 8.09, 18 mm. (Löbbecke).

c. Copenhagen, grm. 7.97 (Worn), 17 mm.

d. London, grm. 8.36, 18x21 mm., B. M. Cat., 26, pl. XXVIII, 7. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 135, 291, pl. CCLXXXI, 13. **Pl. XII.**

e. The Hague, grm. 7.05 (very worn), Six.

f. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.33, 20 mm.

130 *A 55.* Same die.

P 80. Same die as 118. **Pl. XII.**

a. London, grm. 8.45, 18x22 mm., B. M. Cat., 24, pl. XXVIII, 6. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 135, 290, pl. CCLXXXI, 12.⁷⁵

b. Munich, grm. 8.16, 21 mm.

c. Hirsch XXV, 1909 (Philipsen), 1150, grm. 8.07, 20 mm.

d. Sotheby, 1921, 20 mm.

131 *A 55.* Same die.

P 81. Same die as 119. **Pl. XII.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.36, 20 mm. (Löbbecke).

132 *A 55.* Same die.

P 79. Same die as 117. **Pl. XII.**^(75a)

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.36, 18 mm., Num. Chr., 1926, p. 312, 12, pl. XX, 12.

b. Copenhagen, grm. 7.10 (very worn), 18 mm., ex Hirsch, XXXIV, 1914, 410.

133 *A 56.* Similar Pegasos, flying r., on hind-quarters A.

P 81. Same die as 119. **Pl. XII.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.41, 18 mm.

b. Naville, 1920 (Pozzi), 1783, ex Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 393, grm. 8.35, 19 mm.

134 *A 56.* Same die.

P 79. Same die as 117. **Pl. XII.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.09, 17 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

V PERIOD, FROM 360 TO 338 B.C.

Group A

135 A 57. Pegasos with curled wing walking r. on exergual line. Above the line and beneath the body of Pegasos, A.

P 86. Head of Athena l. wearing neck-guard and Corinthian Helmet; above to l., archaic A. To r., naked male figure, wearing conical pilos, seated slightly towards l. on rocks, his r. hand raised, his l. resting on rocks and holding small staff.⁷⁸ To l. under the goddess' chin a serpent coiled round a land-tortoise (*Chelonia Græca*) and striking at it.

Pl. XII.

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.41, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- b.* Vienna, grm. 8.90, 17x20 mm.
- c.* London, grm. 8.16, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 35, pl. XXVIII, 14. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 134, 284, pl. CCLXXXI, 6.
- d.* London, grm. 8.36, 18x22 mm., B. M. Cat., 36.
- e.* Paris, grm. 8.37,⁸⁰ 22 mm.
- f.* P. Mathey, Paris, grm. 8.77, 20 mm., ex Egger, 1906, 349.
- g.* Dr. Petzalis, Athens, 19x23 mm.
- h.* Hoyt Miller, grm., 18 mm.
- i.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.15, 21 mm.
- j.* Cat. de Sartiges, pl. XVII, 301, 20 mm.
- k.* Santamaria, 1910 (Hartwig), 785, 20 mm.
- l.* Sotheby, 1909 (Benson), 487, grm. 8.36,⁷⁹ 21 mm.
- m.* Dr. E. P. Robinson, Newport, ex Sotheby, 1920, 59, 19 mm.
- n.* Hirsch XXX, 1911 (Barron), 529, grm. 8.45, 21 mm.
- o.* Hess, 1926 (Löbbecke), 271, grm. 8.50, 21 mm.

136 *A 57.* Same die. Small flaw on exergual line.

P 87. Similar head l.; to l. under chin archaic A, to r., infant Iacchos, squatting, his r. hand raised. **Pl. XII.**

a. London, grm. 8.49, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 34, pl. XXVIII, 13.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.49, 19 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

c. Berlin, grm. 8.35, 17x21 mm. (Löbbecke).

d. Cambridge, grm. 8.13, 18x21 mm., McClean, 5099, pl. 185, 4.

e. Cambridge, grm. 8.20, 17x20 mm., McClean, 5100 pl. 185, 5, from the Sotheby's sale, 1909 (Benson), 486.

f. Milan, 18x23 mm.

g. Paris, grm. 8.45, 19x22 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 131, 283, pl. CCLXXXI, 5.

h. E. T. Newell, grm. 7.95, 17x22 mm.

i. O. Ravel, grm. 8.55, 18x22 mm.

j. Hess, 1926 (Löbbecke), 270, grm. 7.90, 21 mm.

k. Hoyt Miller.

l. S. P. Noe, grm. 8.24.

137 *A 57.* Same die, larger flaw.

P 88. Similar head l. but larger; to r. head of Achelous facing. **Pl. XII.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.30, 20x23 mm.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.38, 21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

c. Berlin, grm. 8.51, 20 mm., from the Dodona find.

d. Cambridge, grm. 8.17, 18 mm. McClean, 5098, pl. 185, 4.

e. London, grm. 8.37, 21x23 mm., B. M. Cat., 19, pl. XXVIII, 1, pl. XII.

f. Paris, grm. 8.40, 20 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 134, 286, pl. CCLXXXI, 8.

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- g.* Palermo, grm. 8.19, 20 mm.
- h.* Vienna, grm. 8.48, 20 mm.
- i.* G. Empedocles, grm. 8.46, 20 mm.
- j.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.00, 20 mm.
- k.* Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 385, grm. 8.35, 19 mm.
- l.* Comte Chandon de Briailles, grm. 8.36, 20 mm.

138 *A 57.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 89. Same head; to r. Head of Ache-
lous in profile to r. **Pl. XII.**

- a.* Athens, grm. 8.35, 20x24 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.33, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- c.* Paris, grm. 8.45, 21 mm., Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 134, 285, pl. CCLXXXI, 7.
- d.* Hoyt Miller, grm., 20 mm.
- e.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.30, 18 mm.
- f.* Hirsch XXV, 1909 (Philipsen), 1149, grm. 8.40, 21 mm.
- g.* Sotheby, 1921, 245, 19 mm.

139 *A 58.* Pegasos, with head slightly bent and straight wing, flying r.; beneath, A. Three rows of feathers, fourth feather half the length of the third.

P 90. Head of Athena r. similar to previous ones; to l. copy of a statue of Zeus striding r., hurling thunderbolt, left arm outstretched. **Pl. XIII.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.37, 22 mm. (Löbbecke).
- b.* London, grm. 8.44, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 33, pl. XXVIII, 12. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 136, 295, pl. CCLXXXI, 17.
- c.* Munich, grm. 7.45, 22 mm.
- d.* Vienna, grm. 8.44, 20 mm.

140 *A 58.* Same die.

P 91. Probably same die as previous. Over Zeus has been added A, and under neck truncation, a dolphin to l. **Pl. XIII.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.55, 19x21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.37, 18x22 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* Vienna, grm. 8.45, 20 mm.
- d.* Count de Brandis, Venice, grm. 7.50 (worn), 18 mm.
- e.* Egger, 1906, 351, grm. 8.79, 19 mm.

141 *A 58.* Same die.

P 92. Similar head of Athena, but r.; to r. large cicada. **Pl. XIII.**

- a.* London, grm. 8.49, 20x23 mm., B. M. Cat., 23, pl. XXVIII, 5.
- b.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.46, 20 mm.

142 *A 58.* Same die.

P 88. Same die as 137. **Pl. XIII.**

- a.* Vienna, grm. 8.13, 20 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.33, 22 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.35, 20 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- d.* London, grm. 8.63, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 20, pl. XXVIII, 2.
- e.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.40, 20 mm.
- f.* Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 286, grm. 8.75, 20 mm.

143 *A 58.* Same die.

P 89. Same die as 138. **Pl. XIII.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.29, 18 × 21 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.15, 20 mm.

144 A 59. Similar Pegasos, smaller, wing composed of only two rows of small feathers; beneath, A.

P 93. Head of Athena l.; to r. NI and dove flying to r. **Pl. XIII.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.28, 18 mm., McClean, 5114, pl. 185, 19.

Group B

145 A 60. Pegasos unbridled flying r. Head slightly bent, wing similar to A 58. Beneath, running chimaera, to r.

P 94. Head of Athena r. similar to P 90 only larger, to l. large A. **Pl. XIII.**

a. Sir C. W. C. Oman, Oxford, 19x21 mm.

146 A 61. Similar Pegasos, standing r. with l. fore-leg bent; beneath, a naked, male figure (Bellerophon) in squatting attitude sitting on his left heel and examining Pegasos l. hoof.

P 94. Same die. **Pl. XIII.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.63, 21 mm. (Löbbecke).

b. Berlin, grm. 8.40, 18 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).

c. Cambridge, grm. 8.37, 21 mm., McClean, 5110, pl. 185, 15.

d. Naples hoard, 43, 21 mm.

e. Paris, grm. 8.50, Babelon, 20x25 mm., op. c., p. 139, 310, pl. CCXXXII, 7.⁸¹

f. Vienna, grm. 7.50, 21 mm.⁸²

g. Jameson, Paris., 1116, ex Egger, 1906, 350, grm. 8.54, 19 mm.

h. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.07, 20 mm., ex Hirsch XXXIV, 414.

147 *A 61.* Same die.

P 95. Similar head to that on die *P 94.* helmet larger but small for the head; curls round neck-guard larger. To l., A. **Pl. XIII.**

a. Paris, grm. 22 mm., J. Babelon, Coll. de Luynes, 1889, pl. LXXI.

b. London, grm. 8.50, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., 57, pl. XXIX, 11.

c. Munich, grm. 8.23, 21 mm., ex Hirsch XXV, 1909, 1154.

d. R. E. Hart, Blackburn, grm. 8.49, 20 mm. (Cat. Sotheby, 1920, 60).

e. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.53, 21 mm.

f. O. Ravel, grm. 8.52, 19x22 mm., ex Naville XII, 1926, 1319.

148 *A 62.* Pegasos flying r. similar to die *A 59.* Wing composed of two rows of feathers, the tips slightly bent upwards. Body longer; beneath A.

P 96. Head of Athena r. but smaller; over neck-guard to l., dove flying l. **Pl. XIII.**

a. London, grm. 8.58, 20x25 mm., B. M. Cat., 13, pl. XXVII, 10.

b. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.57, 17x24 mm.

149 *A 63.* Similar Pegasos, head less bent, one feather of second wing visible; first four feathers almost of the same length; beneath, A.

P 96. Same die. **Pl. XIV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.72, 19x21 mm., ex Ratto, 1927, 1097, pl. XXXI.

- b.* Copenhagen, grm. 8.42, 17x25 mm.
- c.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.57, 17x22 mm.
- d.* Commerce, Marseilles, grm. 8.29, 18x22 mm., ex Cat. Naville XII, 1926, 1313.

150 *A 63.* Same die.

P 97. Revival of die *P 85.* Athena's head larger, the *A* is not on the helmet, but beneath truncation of neck. To l. youthful winged male figure riding dolphin to r., his hands clasped round l. knee. Dolphin larger and tail bent upwards.

Pl. XIV.

a. London, grm. 8.23, 21x25 mm., B. M. Cat., 30, pl. XXVIII, 10. Babelon, op.cit. 135, 294, pl. CCLXXXI, 16.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.44 21 mm. (Löbbecke).

c. Cat. de Sartiges, 300, pl. XVII, 22x24 mm.

151 *A 63.* Same die.

P 98. Small Athena's head r. similar to *P 96.* To l. coiled serpent raising its head.

Pl. XIV.

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.62, 20 mm., ex Pozzi, Naville I, 1920, 1747, and Egger, 1908, 507.

b. Berlin, grm. 6.93, 21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer) (not plated).⁸³

152 *A 64.* Pegasos flying r., head almost facing, second wing visible; beneath, large archaic *A*.

P 99. Same head of Athena r., to l.
large archaic A. **Pl. XIV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.45, 21 mm., Hirsch XXX, 1911,
534.

b. London, grm. 8.30, B. M. Cat., 56, 19 mm.

c. Naples hoard, 35, 18 mm.

153 *A 65.* Similar to 152, but A larger and
differently placed.

P 100. Similar head r., face longer;
without A. **Pl. XIV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.26, 20 mm.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.45, 16x18 mm. (Löbbecke).

c. O. Ravel, grm. 8.42, 21 mm.

154 *A 65.* Same die.

P 101. Similar head r.; to l., dolphin
downwards. **Pl. XIV.**

a. Palermo, 20 mm., grm. 8.20, 1526.

155 *A 66.* Similar Pegasos r., but head in
profile, second wing not visible; beneath, A.

P 100. Same die as 153. **Pl. XIV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.35, 18x21 mm.

156 *A 67.* Similar Pegasos, A differently
placed.

P 100. Same die. **Pl. XIV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.48, 17x20 mm.

157 *A 68.* Similar Pegasos flying r., head smaller and slightly bent, fore legs bent; beneath, A.

P 101. Same die as 154. **Pl. XIV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.48, 20 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

158 *A 69.* Small short Pegasos, flying r.; wing very small, neck short. Beneath, A.

P 102. Same head, from the same hub as *P 101*; to l., shrimp. **Pl. XIV.**

a. Munich, grm. 8.82, 20 mm. (Egger, 1908, 503).

b. Paris, grm. 8.40, 17 mm., Babelon, op.cit. 55, Leucas, 74, pl. CCLXXIII, 14.⁸⁴

c. Vienna, grm. 8.60, 18 mm.

159 *A 70.* Similar Pegasos, wing parallel to the body, tail small and close to hind-quarters; beneath, large A.

P 99. Same die as 152. **Pl. XIV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.52, 19 mm.

Group C

160 *A 71.* Small Pegasos flying l.; beneath, A. Edge of the wing slightly curled upwards.

P 103. AMΠ; head of Athena to l., wearing Corinthian helmet over neck-guard, and round her throat necklace of larger beads; to r., thunderbolt with wings, the l. one over-lapping the central dart to r., as on coins of Olympia (Seltman 166). **Pl. XIV.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.52, 17 mm.

161 *A 71.* Same die.

P 104. Better head of Athena r., without necklace; to l. eagle with spread wings standing on ram's head, as on coins of Olympia (Seltman, 320).⁸⁵ **Pl. XV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.59, 17 mm., ex Naville XII, 1926, 1320.

b. The Hague, grm. 8.55, 17 mm. (Six),⁸⁶ Babelon, op. cit., p. 126, 273.

c. Berlin, grm. 8.33, 18 mm., (Prokesch-Osten).

162 *A 71.* Same die.

P 105. Head of Athena similar to preceding, but l.; to r., eagle with spread wings holding serpent in its beak. This symbol, too, is taken from coins of Olympia (Seltman N. 123). **Pl. XV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.05, 17 mm., ex Canessa Sale, 1922, 437, Num. Chr., 1926, r. 4, pl. XX, 15.

b. Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1749, grm. 8.60, 17 mm., and Egger, 1908, 506.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.42.

163 *A 71.* Same die.

P 106. Head almost identical to that of Athena on P 103. Around the throat of the goddess, necklace of large beads; to r., eagle very erect to r., as on coins of Olympia. (Seltman 312.) **Pl. XV.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.21, 18 mm., McClean, 5116, pl. 186, 1.

b. Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1679, grm. 8.50, 19 mm., and Egger, 1906, 289.

164 *A 72.* Similar Pegasos, l., slightly larger; beneath, A, differently placed.

P 107. Head of Athena l. wearing Corinthian helmet with crest and neck-guard, no necklace; to r., spear. **Pl. XV.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.25, 18 mm.

b. R. Jameson, grm. 8.52, 16x21 mm., 1115, pl. LVII, ex Sotheby, 1909 (Benson), 490. Babelon, op.cit. 126, 270, pl. CCLXXX, 9.

c. Hirsch XIV, 1905, 424, grm. 8.20, 19 mm.

165 *A 72.* Same die.

P 106. Same die as 163. **Pl. XV.**

a. Palermo, grm. 8.38, 18 mm., hoard, 983.

166 *A 72.* Same die.

P 105. Same die as 162. **Pl. XV.**

a. Cambridge, grm. 8.38, 15x17 mm., McClean, 5117, pl. 186, 2.⁸⁷

167 *A 73.* Bridled Pegasos flying l. Head large and bent, same wing as previously. Beneath, large A.

P 108. Similar head of Athena l., as on P 107 but larger; to r., spear-head. **Pl. XV.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.80, 18 mm., ex Hirsch XXX, 531.

b. London, grm. 8.27, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 42, pl. XIX, 3.

c. Naples hoard, 37, 20 mm.

168 *A 74.* Pegasos unbridled flying l. head raised; beneath, A.

P 109. Similar head of Athena l., but larger, wearing crested helmet. **Pl. XV.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.37, 18 mm.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.50, 20 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.53, 20 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).
- d.* London, grm. 8.50, 22 mm., B. M. Cat., 43.
- e.* Paris, grm. 8.50, 18 mm., J. Babelon, Cat. de Luynes, 1888, pl. CXXI.
- f.* Naples hoard, 38, 20 mm.
- g.* G. Empedocles, grm. 8.54, 18 mm.
- h.* Hirsch, XIII, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 2352, grm. 8.27, 20 mm.
- i.* Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1751, grm. 8.56, 18 mm.
- j.* Col. Godefroy, Paris, ex Naville XII, 1926, 1317, grm. 8.28, 20 mm.

169 *A 75.* Similar Pegasos l., head less raised, same wing; beneath, A.

P 110. Similar head with slightly different profile, tail of the crest less wavy and longer; between crest and helmet a line of dots. To r., spear, point upwards. **Pl. XV.**

- a.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.53, 19 mm.
- b.* Copenhagen, grm. 8.48, 21 mm.
- c.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.50, 20 mm.

Group D

170 *A 76.* Pegasos, unbridled, flying r. Body very fat, head bent and exceptionally small,

large wide wing, with edge curled slightly upwards; beneath, A. Flaw between tail and wing.

P 111. Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet without crest and neck-guard; to l., thymiaterion. **Pl. XV.**

- a.* London, grm. 8.44, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 54, pl. XXIX, 9. Babelon, op. cit., p. 139, 305, pl. CCXXXII, 4.
- b.* Berlin, grm. 8.17, 22 mm. (Löbbecke).
- c.* The Hague, grm. 8.50, 20 mm. (Six).
- d.* Turin, 20 mm.
- e.* Empedocles, Athens, 20 mm.
- f.* Commerce, Naples, 20x23 mm.
- g.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.50, 20x22 mm.

171 *A 76.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 112. Similar but face shorter, to l., thymiaterion. **Pl. XV.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.34, 20 mm. (Prokesch-Osten).
- b.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.32, 20 mm.

172 *A 76.* Same die, fracture larger.

P 113. Similar head of Athena l., chin larger; to r., kylix. **Pl. XV.**

- a.* G. Empedocles, grm. 8.20, 19 mm.

173 *A 76.* Same die, fracture covers almost all the l. upper part of the coin.

P 114. Same die as previously, but above the kylix has been engraved a bunch of grapes. **Pl. XVI.**

- a.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.48, 18x20 mm.
- b.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.51, 20 mm.
- c.* Berlin, grm. 8.50, 20 mm. (Löbbecke).

174 *A 77.* Pegasos flying r., smaller and better proportioned; beneath, A. Edge of the wing nearly perpendicular.

P 115. Very similar to P 114; the helmet is drawn over the goddess' eye, curls vary in number and shape. **Pl. XVI.**

a. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.39, 18x21 mm.

b. Paris, "Uncertain mints," 1098, 19 mm.

c. The Hague, grm. 8.10, 18 mm.

d. London, grm. 8.49, 18 mm., B. M. Cat., 38, pl. XXVIII, 16. Babelon Tr., t. IV, p. 138, 300, pl. CCLXXXI, 21.⁸⁸

e. Sotheby, 1920, 59, 20 mm.

175 *A 77.* Same die, small flaw near r. hind leg.

P 116. Very similar to P 114 and P 115; the number and shape of the curls different. **Pl. XVI.**

a. Dr. E. P. Robinson, Newport.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.59, 20 mm. (Fox).

176 *A 77.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 117. Head of Athena r., similar to P 112; to l., branch of thistle with flower.⁸⁹

Pl. XVI.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.40, 18 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).

b. London, grm. 8.60, 18x23 mm., B. M. Cat., 55, pl. XXIX, 10. Babelon, op.cit., 139, 306, pl. CCLXXXII, 5.⁹⁰

177 *A 77.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 118. Similar head of Athena r.; to l. obelisk of Ambracia with Delphic fillet hanging to l. **Pl. XVI.**

a. Paris, grm. 8.56, 18x20 mm., Babelon, op.cit., 138, 302, pl. CCLXXXII, 2.

b. Munich, grm. 7.50 (worn), 19 mm.

c. O. Ravel, grm. 8.32, 19 mm.

d. Naville V, 1923, 2135, grm. 8.32, 19 mm.

178 *A 77.* Same die, same flaw.

P 119. Same types, the base of the obelisk is larger. **Pl. XVI.**

a. Berlin, grm. 8.49, 872, 17x20 mm.

b. Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.33, 19 mm.

c. Hirsch XXXI, 1912, 392, grm. 8.46, 22 mm.

179 *A 77.* Same die, same flaw.

P 120. Similar head r. Long tight curls all round the neck-guard, to l., $\triangleright$ to r. Obelisk of Ambracia with Delphic fillet passing behind it, from r. to l. **Pl. XVI.**

a. Vienna, grm. 8.50, 18 mm.

b. Cambridge, grm. 8.43, 18x22 mm., McClean, 5108, pl. 185, 13.

c. Paris, 20 mm.

d. The Hague, grm. 8.55, 19x21 mm., (Six coll.).

e. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.41, 21 mm.

f. Sotheby, 1920, 54, 20 mm.

180 *A 77.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 121. Similar head r. but with only a few long curls coming from beneath the neck-guard; to r. A, to l. obelisk similar to that of 179.

Pl. XVI.

a. Vienna, grm. 8.47, 17x20 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.56, 19 mm., B. M. Cat., 50, pl. XXIX, 6.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.45, 19 mm.

181 *A 77.* Same die, flaw larger.

P 122. Similar head l. with long neck. to r., dove r., to l., over helmet ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕ... (probably ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ).

Pl. XVI.

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.30, 20 mm.

b. Berlin, grm. 8.50, 21 mm. (Imhoof-Blumer).⁹¹

c. London, grm. 8.43, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 16, pl. XXVII, 13. Babelon, p. 131, 280, pl. CCLXXXI, 1.

182 *A 78.* Pegasos with head less bent, wing raised, beneath, AM.

P 123. Larger head of Athena r. of better style; to l. female locust to r.

a. Paris, "Uncertain mints," 1112, 20 mm.

183 *A 78.* Same die.

P 124. AMHPA, head of Athena of coarse style l., to r., spear-head, point to r.

Pl. XVI.

a. G. Empedocles, grm. 8.38, 18 mm.

b. London, grm. 8.15, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 9, pl. XXVII, 8. Babelon, p. 130, 278.

c. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.32, 20 mm.

184 A 78. Same die.

P 125. Small head of Athena l.; to r., ear of grain standing vertically. **Pl. XVI.**

a. O. Ravel, grm. 8.30, 19 mm.

185 A 79. Similar Pegasos flying r., short body, wing almost vertical, large head, tail very long; beneath, A.

P 126. Head of Athena l.; to r., obelisk of Ambracia with fillet hanging to r. **Pl. XVII.**

a. London, grm. 7.95, 20 mm.

Uncertain Mints

186 A 80. Pegasos unbridled with pointed wing, flying left. Wing composed of two rows of small feathers and a row of long feathers quite straight, second wing visible.

P 127. Head of Athena l. wearing Corinthian helmet with very large bowl: to r., palmette; to l., in front of the helmet, A. Flat coarse style. **Pl. XVII.**

a. Hoyt Miller, 812, 21 mm.

b. Vienna, grm. 8.40, 17x22 mm.

c. Copenhagen, grm. 8.29, 17 mm.

d. E. T. Newell, grm. 8.66, 20 mm.

e. Palermo, grm. 8.40, 18 mm.

f. O. Ravel, grm. 8.50, 19 mm.

187 A 80. Same die.

P 128. Similar to above but type to r. to l. small palmette, to r. A. **Pl. XVII.**

- a.* Hoyt Miller, grm. 8.36, 20 mm.
- b.* Berlin (Hermann), grm. 8.62, 20 mm.
- c.* Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer), grm. 8.15, 19 mm.
- d.* Cambridge, grm. 8.59, 17 mm., McClean, 5103, pl. 185, 8.
- e.* Paris, grm. 8.66, 18 mm.
- f.* The Hague, grm. 8.56, 17 mm. (Six).
- g.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.55, 20 mm.
- h.* Vienna, grm. 8.62, 19 mm.
- i.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.66, 20x18 mm.

188 *A 80.* Same die.

P 129. Similar to previous, to r. in front of the Athena's head, two parallel lines. (Probably die flaws?) **Pl. XVII.**

- a.* O. Ravel, grm. 8.50, 19 mm.

189 *A 81.* Pegasos to l., beneath, A.

P 130. Head of Athena to r. wearing Corinthian helmet bound with olive-wreath, over very small neck-guard, from which hair escapes in long loose locks visible on both sides of the neck. To r., over the helmet, lyre (chelys).

- a.* Naville I, 1920 (Pozzi), 1752, grm. 8.13, 20 mm. (ex Hirsch XXXI, 374—Apollonia).

190 *A 82.* Pegasos with pointed wing, slightly curled upwards, flying r., head very small beneath, A.

P 130. Same die. **Pl. XVII.**

- a.* Berlin, grm. 8.36, 22 mm. (Löbbecke).
- b.* E. T. Newell, grm. 8.38, 19x23 mm.

191 *A 83.* Similar Pegasos flying r. Beneath, A.

P 131. Head of Athena l. wearing necklace. Fine style but very flat. To r. ear of corn.

Pl. XVII.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.58, 22 mm., 339.

b. London, grm. 8.42, 20 mm., B. M. Cat., 62, pl. XXIX, 15.

c. O. Ravel, grm. 8.53, 21 mm.

192 *A 83.* Same die.

P 132. Similar type, but to r. ear of corn placed horizontally.

Pl. XVII.

a. Berlin, grm. 8.22, 23 mm. (Löbbecke).

b. Sotheby, 1920, 61, 23 mm.

COMMENT ON THE TYPES AND THE SEQUENCE OF DIES

I PERIOD, FROM 480 TO 456

Although the coins of this period, like the corresponding archaic coins of Corinth, are rare, it will be observed that those here described are very few for so long a time as 24 years. To explain this anomaly we have to consider that before 480 B.C., the normal currency of Ambracia was represented by the Corinthian staters, probably those with the incuse patterns on the reverses. The first autonomous coins with the

civic initial of Ambracia must have been very few, and, at the beginning, just as a kind of supplementary currency, while the coins of Corinth were still the principal ones.

Several coins of Corinth have beneath the Pegasos an archaic form of koppa, Ϙ, that resembles a ϕ. The tail of the letter instead of beginning from below the O, begins from the upper part and crosses it.^{92a} This peculiar letter was taken by Babelon for a ϕ, and he attributed the coin 1138 in the Jameson collection to Phytia.⁹² In the writer's collection, there are two Corinthian staters with the same Ϙ on the obverse, coupled with common Corinthian reverses, like Bement 1155.⁹³ All these coins are certainly of Corinth.

Jameson's coin, from the same die-combination as another specimen in the writer's collection (XIX, 1) ⁹⁴ has the reverse from the same die as the Ambracian staters 10 and 11 (Pl. I). Furthermore, in Mr. E. T. Newell's cabinet there is another coin attributed to Ambracia,⁹⁵ the ϕ being "off flan" (Pl. XIX, 2), having the obverse from the same die as that mentioned above, but coupled with the other Ambracian obverse die as 8 and 9 (Pl. I). These three Corinthian coins prove that dies P 5 and P 6 were employed at the same time for Corinthian and Ambracian coins, and therefore we are entitled to conclude that all these coins come from the same mint and that they were no doubt coined at Corinth.

E. Curtius in his "Studien zur Geschichte von Korinth" ⁹⁶ says that Corinth struck the coins for her colonies at first, but this statement was only conjectural, as he had no ground to support it other than the general likeness of the archaic colonial issues. The above mentioned case seems to confirm his surmise, at least for Ambracia. A close examination of the archaic dies of Corinth and her colonies would probably show that all the archaic colts were struck at Corinth. They look so much alike that if it were not for the civic initials, they could hardly be distinguished one from the other.

We know seventeen Ambracian staters with the reverse from dies P 5 and P 6 and only six Corinthian specimens with the reverse from the same dies; this seems to indicate that these two reverse dies were really made for Ambracia and only occasionally employed for Corinth.

Probably after the Persian war, to reward the colonies that helped her, Corinth authorized them to have their own currency, but either because she still wanted to have control of the finances of these colonies or because they had not yet organized mints of their own, it was the mother-city that struck the coins for them.

The Pegasos on all the archaic staters is an extraordinary one. The wing is curled and certainly ill adapted for flying, the head is big and very long, and the legs are short. The reverses,

on the contrary, show beautiful archaic heads of Athena.

It is incomprehensible that the same artist who engraved the lovely reverses, could make so bad a Pegasos. Sir Charles Oman supposes that this ugly beast was made like that for a set purpose,⁹⁷ and that it was probably copied from a well known archaic statue of Pegasos. This ingenious hypothesis would fully explain the above mentioned difference in style of the two sides of these early colts.

In all Greek series, the number of the known reverses is always much greater than that of the obverses, and this is understandable as the obverses were fixed to the anvil, while the reverses were used as a punch and received the blow.⁹⁸ Therefore this side wore out sooner and had to be changed more frequently than the other. In this period, on the contrary, we find a very puzzling peculiarity; we know 9 obverses and only 6 reverses. As the deep incuse square leaves no doubt that the Athena type is really the reverse, the reason for this abnormal proportion of dies escapes us.

The only hypothesis that could explain it is that for some special reason that we cannot guess, the surviving coins of this period are fewer than in the other series, and we may suppose that a great many other reverses existed which may turn up some day.

Group A

This group is characterized by having no symbols. Coins 1 and 2 have a lovely archaic head of Athena with the distinctive "archaic smile." Although these heads are a little flat, they are of the best archaic style.

The following coins, 3 to 7 (Pl. I), show a more advanced reverse. We no longer find the "archaic smile"; the relief is higher and the necklace is of beads, while before it was only a kind of ribbon.

All the obverses of this group are very similar, only the position of the A beneath the Pegasos and other very slight details change from one die to the other. They all look as if they had been made from the same hub.

Group B

The obverses of coins 8 to 11 show a better proportioned Pegasos and although the general appearance is always kept close to the typical early *parasemon* of Corinth, the style is better and more in accordance with Athena's head of the reverses.

In this group we see for the first time a symbol. To the left of Athena's head there is an ivy-branch. This has a decorative effect and relieves the bareness of the field; evidently its only object is to embellish.

The style of these reverses (P 5 and P 6) is

exceedingly good, and they are among the best examples of the early Fifth Century art. A peculiarity of these reverses is the earring worn by the goddess, which resembles a bunch of grapes. On several Corinthian staters, of more advanced style, we find a somewhat similar earring.⁹⁹

As said before, dies P 5 and P 6 are found curiously coupled with Corinthian obverses; on these Pegasos is flying to left—on the Ambracian obverses he is flying to right. This difference was probably necessary in the mint, in order to recognize easily the dies of the colony from those of the mother-country.

II PERIOD, FROM 456 TO 426 B.C.

The archaic coinage of Ambracia is generally attributed to the period between the Persian war (480 B.C.) and the end of the war of Corinth against Corcyra (432 B.C.). Head and Babelon both give these dates, but Prof. P. Gardner holds that Head's dates are too late.^{99a} He assumes that these early issues should be dated from 520 to 480 B.C. He supposes there was a great break in the coinage of Ambracia and that between 480 and 425 there were no coins at this mint, which did not again begin to strike pegasi, until after the disaster of Olpai.

If we examine the two series of Corinth and Ambracia, we find in the present period a striking peculiarity; almost all the first Corinthian pegasi

after the archaic period have corresponding Ambracian coins, and the likeness is so great that one is tempted to suppose that the same die-cutters worked for the two mints. The two series are closely parallel, and there is no reason to suppose there was any pause in the coining of Ambracia, if this is not found in Corinth.

On the other hand, if during 55 years there were no colts struck in Ambracia, why should we find a coin (Pl. II, 21) muling a reverse of the first period and a reverse of the second? The reverse belongs to the middle of the first period. According to Mr. Gardner's dating, it should be dated about 500 B.C. while the obverse, which is not one of the first of this period, should be assigned to about 400-410 B.C. Therefore, if these dates were correct, die A 4 would have been in operation for at least 90 years. But if we take 480 B.C. as the date of the beginning of the Ambracian coinage and 456 B.C. for the beginning of the second period, this muling is easier to understand.

The fixing of 456 B.C. for the beginning of this period is suggested by our explanation of the symbol found on the obverses following the archaic colts (cf. p. 91); but even if this symbol does not mean what we suggest, we think that this date may be considered as exact.

Gardner's and Head's dates make the transitional style begin at 425 or 432 B.C.; this is certainly too late, if we consider the other branches of Greek art.

The end of this period is 426 B.C.—the date of the Olpai disaster; from then on, Ambracia is more nearly independent of Corinth, and we no longer find such strikingly similar coins in the two series.

Group A

In this first group the Pegasos is of a new design. The wing is still curled, but the shape quite different, and, artistically, it is even poorer than the foregoing; but owing to the wings being still curled, it is very likely that this new type of flying-horse is the successor of the archaic one. This issue marks a new epoch in the coinage of Ambracia and may correspond to the fall of Aegina.

As we have already remarked, we find in this group coins that are very like some Corinthian staters; probably at this time the same die-cutters worked in the two mints. This would explain the great similarity of style, design and fabric that we find on these first obverses and on those of Corinth with the murex-shell beneath the Pegasos.¹⁰⁰ Both issues have exactly the same Pegasos with the civic initials ♀ or A under its neck. Generally these are found beneath the body of Pegasos, but on these coins in their place is a symbol—on the Corinthian a murex-shell, and on the Ambracian a complicated symbol that has been hitherto differently interpreted. Owing to

the poor specimens in the British Museum, Head could not see what it really was. Describing one coin,¹⁰¹ he calls it a "rose-bud" and another¹⁰² a "pellet." Imhoof-Blumer, describing his fine specimen, now in Berlin (12a, Pl. I), explains it as "a serpent over a land-tortoise."¹⁰³ Babelon in the posthumous portion of his *Traité*,¹⁰⁴ was the first to see what it really was, viz. "a serpent fighting with a land-tortoise"; but on another coin with the same symbol, he saw only "a coquillage" (a shell).⁴⁵

What the symbol represents is a serpent coiled round a land-tortoise (*Chelonia Græca*) and striking at it. This very interesting symbol, found later, but enlarged, on a beautiful stater of Period III, 135, Pl. XII, is too elaborate not to have a special meaning. Evidently it is an historical allusion to some well known struggle, and probably the animals symbolize the fighters.¹⁰⁵

We know that the staters of Aegina were accepted universally and because of their constant type, the turtle, were commonly called the "turtles" (*χελῶναι*),¹⁰⁶ in the same way as the Corinthian staters were called the "colts" (*πῶλοι*), from their type.⁹ Turtles and colts were strong competitors in the commercial world of the time. This competition and the fact that Aegina greatly handicapped the development of Corinthian influence and trade in the Peloponnesus and was a constant menace to her, induced Corinth to

side with Athens in the long fight against Aegina.¹⁰⁷

When in 456 B.C., Aegina became tributary to Athens,¹⁰⁸ it is most unlikely that the latter would have allowed the striking of the "turtles" which competed with her own "owls," in the commercial market.^{108a} The coinage of the "turtles" therefore must have come to a stop at the time. Erichthonios (Ἐριχθόνιος), son of Hephaistos and Atthis, and pupil of Athena, was the first ruler of Attica after Kekrops and was often represented as a serpent.¹⁰⁹ We may, therefore, assume that a serpent may symbolize Attica or Athens. If so, the symbol we find on the Ambracian staters may be an allusion to the ending of the Aeginetan coinage, as a consequence of the conflict between Athens and Aegina. The serpent Erichthonios, symbolizing Athens, ^{109a} has a "turtle" (χελώνη) ^{108b} in his coils; in other words, through Athens the "turtles" have come to an end.

Corinth fostered the diffusion of her currency and through her money she held her colonies together and tightened relations with others. She (and therefore her colonies) considered the colts as a kind of national flag, of which they were proud.¹¹⁰ We can therefore understand that the stopping of the coinage of the "turtles" was an event of the greatest importance both for Corinth and for her colonies, and a reason for great

rejoicing. From this moment the "colts," no longer having this competitor, would be able to fly unfettered, passing over the fallen "turtles."

If such is not the intended meaning of the symbol, it has certainly been an omen that has proved true, as very few other coins had such a large circulation and such a wide success as the $\pi\omega\lambda\omicron\iota$.¹¹¹

This symbol is very important as it permits us to fix the date of the issues of this period—these coins must have been issued shortly after the stopping of the coinage of Aegina, about 456 B.C. The reverses P 7 and P 8 of beautiful transitional style are very like the reverse of the Corinthian stater in the Museum of Berlin illustrated by Oman, the same head of Athena l. without neck-guard, with the same hair in long locks over the neck. Undoubtedly, these reverses are the work of the same artist.

The reverses, P 7 and P 8, show a remarkable peculiarity. On the top of Athena's helmet stands a butting bull. There is no doubt that it really stands on the helmet—one can distinctly see that the legs touch the helmet. This anomaly did not attract the attention of numismatists; the bull seems to have been considered as one of the numerous symbols we find in the field near the Athena's head. Head, although he noticed that the bull was standing on the top of the helmet,¹¹² made no comment; he must have considered

the abnormal position of the bull as a fancy of the die-cutter; in fact, he placed coin 17*a*, Pl. II, near 111*c*, Pl. X, just because this last had for a symbol the forepart of a butting bull.¹¹³ Imhoof-Blumer noticed this peculiarity too, and describing his 12*a* (Pl. I) says: "taureau se cramponnant au casque" (bull clinging to the helmet).¹¹⁴

Die P 9 on coin 14 (Pl. II), now published for the first time, from the only known specimen in the writer's cabinet, shows a similar butting bull, but in an even more extraordinary position. It stands no longer on the top of the helmet, but is butting vertically downwards, on the neck of the Goddess. Its hind-feet are on the lower edge of the helmet and the left fore-foot touches the neck-guard.

If we compare the dies P 7 and P 9 it is evident that the bull is not an ordinary symbol; it does not stand alone in the field, but is an integral part of Athena's helmet. On the other hand, its very strange position, once on the top and once almost falling off it, suggests the idea that this bull is walking about on the helmet. It must represent some local legend about Athena that we have not been able to trace.

This same coin, 14, shows for the first time a neck-guard under the helmet, which afterwards is constantly met, with but few exceptions, on all the staters of Corinthian types. This part of the

helmet was often called a leather cap; the writer submitted the reasons that seem to prove that it was really a neck-guard, in "Notes on some rare and unpublished Pegasi of my collection."¹¹⁵

Dies P 10 and P 11 have for symbol the kerykeion, of which we have already spoken. We shall find it constantly repeated in the following groups.

All colts of this period have a deep incuse square.

Group B

Beginning with this group, the Pegasos changes completely—the conventional *parasemon* of Corinth and her colonies, the extraordinary animal with curled wing is definitely abandoned. From this moment, the wing is adapted for flying and the body is that of a real horse. We find the same evolution on the corresponding Corinthian issues. The Pegasos we find on die A 14 still shows a certain archaic stiffness; the hind-legs, for instance, remind us of those of the first Pegasoi.

No. 21 (Pl. II), the first coin of this group, has a reverse coming from an old die (P 4), that shows traces of long wear as several fractures may be seen. Such anachronistic couplings of dies, although rare, are found sometimes even in other series. Seltman¹¹⁶ explains a similar case observed in the mint of Olympia: We may suppose that the old die, lying idle for years in the mint,

has been put into use again either by mistake or in order to replace temporarily a broken die. The fact that we know but one specimen from these dies (in Mr. Newell's collection) proves that it is something in the nature of an exception.

Coin 22 from Mr. Newell's cabinet, looks very similar to a Corinthian stater of the same epoch. (Cf. Num. Chr., 1909, Pl. XXVI, 9.) On the Corinthian coin, the goddess wears earrings and there is a trident turned downwards in the field. Apart from these differences the two coins look very much alike. The same long curls fall down to the back of the neck, from under the helmet, which is without neck-guard, and there is the same long profile. These dies look as though they were made by the same artist.

The following coin, 23, in the writer's cabinet, has also a corresponding Corinthian stater. (Cf. Num. Chr., 1909, Pl. XXVII, 13.) On the Corinthian coin the first two curls are longer; this is the only difference.

These two Ambracian colts, now published for the first time, not having any visible initial, were placed under "uncertain mints" both in Mr. Newell's and in the writer's cabinets, and it is only through the other coins 21 and 24, with the same obverse, that we can attribute them beyond question to the Ambracian mint.

The obverses A 16 and A 17 show two beautiful Pegasoi; both are very similar. The horses are

well proportioned and the wings large and well drawn. The principal difference lies in the size. The sequence is therefore well established with the following coins.

Nos. 27 and 28, both known in a single specimen only, have no neck-guard under the helmet, a sure sign that they are among the earliest coins of the series and that they follow 22 and 23. Henceforward, the goddess always wears a neck-guard. The hair of Athena on 27 is treated in the same way as on the previous dies. There are the same long loose locks falling from under the helmet and covering the neck. Nos. 27 and 28 are closely similar and are certainly made by the same die-cutter. They are among the finest staters of Corinthian types.

No. 29, Pl. III, in the British Museum, was placed by Head under Dyrrhachium (but he was in doubt about this attribution) ¹¹⁷ probably owing to the symbol—the club, generally found on coins of this mint. Even if the obverse, A 17, was not coupled with the two reverses P 16 and P 17, the style of them is so alike that there can be no doubt that they both belong to Ambracia.

Another similar specimen, No. 30, Pl. III, but from slightly different dies, now in the writer's collection, was also attributed to Dyrrhachium in the Naville XII catalogue, following the catalogue of the British Museum. The club is a very exceptional symbol on the Ambracian colts. We

know of no other attribute of Heracles used as a symbol in all the series. In the Berlin Cabinet there is a colt from the Prokesch-Osten collection, under Ambracia, with a club behind the Athena's head (Pl. XVII, 1), but this coin belongs to Alyzia.¹¹⁸

Of twelve die-combinations out of the thirteen composing this group, we can trace only one specimen of each. They are certainly among the rarest colts of Ambracia.

Group C

This group is connected with the previous one through the Pegasos of die A 22, which is very like the one on dies A 19 and A 17, though details differ. Die A 22 and A 23 are very similar, and we find them coupled with several quite different reverses. Not only do the symbols vary on these reverses, but the design and the style are also quite different.

In this group, too, we find a coin having a striking likeness to the contemporary Corinthian issue. Die P 27 shows an Athena's head, wearing a wreathed helmet, very similar to the head on the Corinthian Pegasos in Berlin, illustrated by Prof. Oman in Num. Chron., 1909, Pl. XXVII, 16. This olive wreath which appears now for the first time either in Corinth or in Ambracia, is often met in the next period.

After a time, die A 23 shows traces of wear, and

in some places fractures begin of which the progression can be followed. On some specimens the alteration is so great that the shape of the Pegasos' head seems changed. The sequence of the types can therefore be established with great certainty.

Coin 34, Pl. III, shows an obverse struck from a very fresh die and a reverse P 22, which is an exact copy of die P 10 of Period II. This coin is certainly the first of the group.

Coin 36, Pl. III, is known only from the specimen in the British Museum where it is placed under "Uncertain mints."¹¹⁹ This coin finds its right place in this group, the obverse being from die A 22. The style and the general appearance are those of Ambracia, and Babelon had correctly ascribed it to this mint.¹²⁰ The symbol on this coin is a remarkable one; we never come across it at Ambracia again. It represents a sword in its scabbard.

The kerykeion is found again in this group on dies P 27 (a copy of die P 11), P 23, P 29 and P 26. On this last one of the best style we find an Athena's head of serene beauty. Behind it, in the field, there is a symbol that although really only a kerykeion, is of a very complex and elaborate shape. To the writer's knowledge it is quite unique and hitherto unpublished. This symbol is formed of a kind of circle, with twelve pellets disposed round it, in four groups of three each, forming four corners outside it. The

kerykeion crosses this wreath vertically and near the shaft, inside the circle, there are two more pellets on each side of it. What this symbol may mean is rather difficult to conjecture. Only four coins are known with it and on one only (in Berlin) is it possible to see it distinctly, which may account for the fact that nobody has noticed it before.

Another beautiful reverse, of very good style, is P 28 (Pl. IV). On it, we see a remarkable little flying Nike; at first sight we would be justified in supposing she is crowning Athena's helmet. Grose, in describing the specimen in the McClean collection, takes the Nike for a flying Eros and supposes the coin to be the same as 120 (Pl. XI). The lovely flying figure is certainly a Nike—the confusion is due to the McClean specimen being very poor. What the Nike holds in her hand is not a wreath, but a kind of knotted fillet, outstretched in a straight line in front of her.

Babelon in "Mélanges et Documents" ^{120a} speaks of similar fillets. He illustrates some coins of Sicyon with the flying dove carrying a fillet in its beak (Fig. 6, 7), and others with a naked youth holding the same fillet over his head (Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). He quotes Fougères' definition, ^{120a} which says that these fillets were made of knotted wool. Similar fillets are found tied on the top of the obelisk of Ambracia on the staters 177 to 180 (Pl. XVI). Some coins of Croton (Cf.

Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 96, fig. 53 and 54) represent a tripod adorned with fillets. One (fig. 54) has two fillets hanging from the Tripod; on one side is Apollo and on the other, the Python. The other (fig. 53) shows only one fillet tied to the handle of the tripod and the lower end of it raised. There is no doubt that both coins reproduce the Delphic tripod; and the raised end of the fillet on the second coin is certainly meant to indicate that it was dangling in the wind that blew from the crevice over which the tripod stood in the Adyton.

All these coins reproduce the Delphic fillet, which was probably made of wool or of another similar material, but always very light, as the wind was able to sway it.^{120b} The shape is always the same; it is a cord with a long series of balls or knots, without any space between them and ending with a tassel, probably of the same material. The fillet that the Nike holds on the Ambracian colt is quite different. It is exactly the same as the one we find in front of the Apollo's head, on the beautiful tetradrachm of Catana, by Euainetos (Cf. *B. M. C. Sicily*, No. 55). It is formed of a cord or ribbon with four pellets and ends in a bell-like object, probably metallic. On a stater of Velia by ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ, there is a Nike very similar to the one on the Ambracian colt flying to left, over the lion; she holds in her hands an object that was taken for a wreath, but Poole doubted it was really one.¹²¹ On the very

fine specimen in the collection of Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, who kindly allows me to illustrate it (Pl. XVIII, 3), we can distinctly see that this Nike holds the same outstretched fillet.

This fillet is not supposed to have been made of a rigid material; it is a cord, a ribbon or a chain, and this is confirmed by the Catanian coin, where it encircles Apollo's profile, conforming to the shape of the die. But if this fillet is not rigid, how could the Nike possibly hold it in a straight line in front of her while she is flying? In the flight it would naturally slant toward her and not precede her. On the coins of Sicyon, illustrated by Babelon (figs. 6 and 7), the flying dove holds a fillet in its beak which falls in the logical position that a ribbon or cord would take when carried.

To explain this abnormal position, we need not suppose that the die-cutter was ignorant of the laws of gravity. The fact that two coins, of different dates, and of places so far apart as Ambracia and Velia, show this same strange position, is evidence of a set purpose. The only possibility is that Nike is swinging the fillet to and fro, during her flight, just as the incensorium is swung in the Roman Catholic Church. We may conjecture therefore that the die-cutter reproduced such a swinging movement.

This leads to the supposition that this fillet may be a swinging *θυμιατήριον* or incense-burner, the

bell-like ending being the burner. The existence of such thymiateria is known; and in the Museum of Naples there is a specimen formed by a box-like burner, hanging to a chain, very similar to the incensorium.¹²²

In the writer's collection there is another colt, but of Corinth (Cf. B. M. C., No. 334), on which, next to Athena's head, there is a flying Nike carrying a thymiaterion. We may deduce that this Nike is burning incense in honour of Athena, just as the Nike on the Ambracian coin does over the head of the Goddess. The only difference between the two would be that one Nike uses a standing thymiaterion and the other a swinging one.

Several colts of Anactorion have as symbol a thymiaterion and fillet. They all belong to the same epoch, and Imhoof-Blumer describes them under 96, 97, 98.¹²³ These three coins are illustrated on Pl. XIX, 4, 5 and 6. The following cuts show the symbols on these coins enlarged.

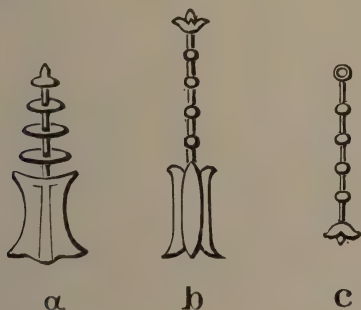
a is the usual thymiaterion.

b is a thymiaterion too, but with four knobs on the rod and a kind of flower-like burner.

c is the so-called fillet. On one end there is a ring to hold it, the same knobs are on the string; and at the lower end there is the same flower-like burner.

It is very likely that all these represent thymiateria, but of differing shapes. The only

distinction is that *b* has a pedestal and is therefore a standing thymiaterion, while *c* has a ring to hold it and is therefore a swinging one. The latter is the one we see Nike swinging over the helmet of Athena on the die P. 24. Several reverses of this



group are beautiful specimens of the art of the Fifth Century, as P 26 and P 28, but coupled with the same obverse A 23, we find the reverse P 29 (Pl. IV) that shows a head of Athena that is really extraordinary for this period. If it were not coupled with the same obverse, nobody would have thought it could belong to the Fifth Century. This head is of the most awkward style, the eye bulgy, the chin large and the neck-guard too big for the helmet. If we were guided by style only in establishing the chronology of issues, this coin might be placed nearly a century after the staters, Nos. 38, 39 and 40.

The difference of style is such that we cannot suppose die A 23 had laid idle in the mint and then been used again. Besides the following die, P 30 (Pl. IV), although slightly better, shows a remarkable likeness of style; evidently the same die-cutter made the two dies—we can still see the same protruding eye and the same clumsy manufacture. Obverse A 24 coupled with this die, is practically identical with A 23, and only minute details permit us to see that it is another die.

Coin 42 is therefore not a chance coupling with an old die, but a coin that really belongs to this group. Consequently dies P 29 and P 30 are evidently the work of an unskilled die-cutter who followed good artists in the mint of Ambracia. This proves how misleading it is to rely on style alone in establishing the chronological sequence of an issue, and confirms once more the desirability of study of the die combinations.

A remarkable symbol is found on coin 43. It represents the sacred conical stone (*βαιτύλιον*) of the Apollo *'Αγνιεύς* who was worshipped in Ambracia.¹²⁴ We again find this obelisk of Ambracia, on the last silver issue of the mint, and afterwards it becomes the principal type of the bronze coins.¹²⁵

On coin 43 c in the Museum of Athens, there is a sort of crescent over the obelisk; probably it is accidental, as in all other particulars it corresponds to die P 30.

III PERIOD, FROM 426 TO 404 B.C.

After the disaster of Olpai, Ambracia made a truce of one hundred years with her neighbours, the Amphilochians, and through not taking any direct part in all the wars that went on in Greece, she soon recovered from her losses and reestablished her former flourishing condition. This is proved by her beautiful coinage. The present period begins with the peace with the Akarnanians and ends with the fall of Athens, in 404 B.C.

Although we have no direct proofs, knowing that Ambracia was always faithful to the mother-city, we may suppose she stood by Corinth in the great war against Athens, whose fall must have been particularly pleasing to the Ambracians, and worthy of being recorded on an issue of coins. The wreathed staters that close this period may have been issued to commemorate this event.

Group A

In this group, we find some obverses on which the Pegasos is of very poor style. If it were not for the reverses P 29 and P 30, we would be rather at a loss to place them in sequence. A 26, Pl. IV, especially, shows a Pegasos that is a very ugly beast with thick legs and completely out of drawing. Evidently it is the work of the die-cutter responsible for P 29 and P 30. The very bad style of these dies may be explained by the hypothesis

that after the disaster of Olpai, the mint was obliged to employ a poor die-cutter, the only one they had at hand in that moment of crisis. The sequences of dies is surely established, the Pegasoi look all more or less related to each other, although of better style than A 26. A 25 stands alone, but the reverse coupled with it is P 31 that is generally found with A 26 and A 27.

Two obverse dies, A 27 and A 28, are found coupled with die P 26 which belongs to the previous group.

A remarkable peculiarity of this group is that there is no civic letter on the obverses, while in Period II there is always the A beneath the Pegasos. All the reverses have the same symbol, the kerykeion.

Group B

This group is connected with the previous one through A 31, which is very similar to A 29.

All the coins of this group show a deep incuse square, which is a sign of archaism. This technical peculiarity is abandoned in the following groups. Like the obverses of group A those of this group, too, have no civic letter beneath the Pegasos.

The reverses are all very similar, save for the change in symbols. We find a strung bow, an ivy-leaf, a running hound and a crane. They seem to be merely ornamental and are all placed in the

same way in front of the Athena's head. Owing to these symbols and to the omission of the civic initial under the Pegasos, several coins of this group have been attributed to other mints. No. 54 was ascribed by Imhoof-Blumer to Alyzia, because of the bow that is generally found on these coins, and No. 57 to Argos because of the dog.

Babelon repeats these attributions, but it escaped his attention that he was placing exactly the same coins under Ambracia too, when he was speaking of the specimens of the British Museum described by Head under this mint. This case is an interesting evidence in favour of the study of the die-combinations; and a glance at Pl. V will convince anyone of the importance of the obverses in the classification of the colts.

Group C

Although between groups *B* and *C* there are no direct links, the peculiarity of the missing civic initial on the obverses is enough to show that the two groups are related, as afterwards this *A* appears again; besides, we still find a very deep incuse square on some coins. The first obverse of this group *A* 32 (Pl. V) shows a Pegasos with a wing that is partly effaced—only the ends of the feathers can be seen. The second, on the contrary (*A* 33), shows the wing formed of three feathers in very high relief. One might be

tempted to think that the die has been awkwardly recut.

Reverse P 41 has a symbol representing a human figure. It is placed in front of the helmet and seems either to climb over it or to dance in front of it.

Reverse P 42 shows the same figure, but larger and better modelled. On this we can see a small tail. It therefore represents a Satyr.

Group D

The link between this group and the preceding is coin 64 (Pl. VI). The reverse P 43 is very like P 42. The style is identical, Athena's head and the symbol, again a little human figure, are of the same technique.

The Pegasoi on obverses A 35 and A 36 are radically different. Coin 65 (Pl. VI) is the coupling of dies A 35/P 44; we find coin 66 from dies A 35/P 43, P 43 being the previous reverse. This coin 65 has an owl for a symbol, and it is very likely that the other coins with the same symbol and coupled with obverse A 36 and A 37 belong to the same issue. Die P 43 has a remarkable symbol—a naked winged male figure, holding a taenia in his hands—can this be Eros? The other symbols are all apotropeia; the owl (*Athena noctua*), the fly and the crab.

Group E

The first obverse of this group, A 38, has exactly the same Pegasos as 39; it is merely smaller. Although the reverses are quite different, there is no doubt that coins 75 and 76 are closely related.

Reverse, P 50, is very interesting; a similar wreath of ivy leaves is found on a coin of Leucas (B. M. Cat. Pl. XXXIV, 15). Probably 75 inspired the coin of Leucas. The obverses A 39 and A 40, instead of having only the civic A, have AM beneath the Pegasos; and the reverses coupled with them have no longer the A only, but the full ethnic, AM or AMII.

Coin 76 has the ethnic for the first time but retrograde. This inscription prompted Head to place the coin immediately after the archaic issues.¹²⁶ This retrograde ethnic cannot be considered as a sign of archaism. It is more probable that it was made so because the die-cutter was not used to engraving inscriptions; the omega instead of omicron confirms it.

Coin 77, of which we know one specimen only, has a spike-fish as a symbol; it is possible to recognize its species. Probably it represents the *Scorpena porcus* that is still common in the Gulf of Ambracia.

Coins 78 and 80 have reverses that seem different but are probably the same die. In front of the Athena's head P 53 has AMII and P 54 AM and in the place of II, a locust.

On the plate is illustrated the Paris specimen 80 c, but this is very poor and the locust looks like a flaw. Only on 79 in the de Sartiges collection can one distinctly see that P 53 and P 54 are probably the same die, on which a locust has been cut over the II.

Group F

This group is composed of three obverses that show very minute differences, the first two reverses coupled with A 41 still show a very deep incuse square—indeed, P 55 has a linear frame within the incuse square, and this is quite exceptional in the Ambracian series. Some of the reverses coupled with the same A 41, have, on the contrary, no trace at all of an incuse square; these have a wreath of laurel leaves round the Athena's head. The deep incuse square that we find on the first two coins of this group, 81 and 82 (Pl. VII), disappears completely afterwards. We may therefore infer that all these coins have been issued at about the time when the habit of making the reverse-dies on a square punch was abandoned.

It seems that the incuse square on Greek coins generally ceases after 400 B.C. Naturally it still remains on those coins that are deliberately made to look archaic.¹²⁷ Regling brings down this date to the beginning of the fourth century.¹²⁸

M. Vlasto, in his recent exhaustive study of the coinage of Alexander, son of Neoptolemos,¹²⁹ expresses the opinion that the above-mentioned wreathed staters may have been issued as a tribute to Alexander, during his stay in Ambracia, before he sailed for Italy in 334 B.C. He bases his hypothesis chiefly on the symbol, the thunderbolt, which was the Molossian signet. In the first place we know that the mint of Ambracia was closed in 338 B.C., therefore the coins would not have been issued after this date. Furthermore, all the coins of this group share the same obverses, and are therefore contemporary, so if we accept M. Vlasto's dating for the wreathed staters, we should have to bring down the coins with the incuse square to about the same date, which is certainly impossible.

Besides, if the thunderbolts on the staters with the wreath are similar to the Molossian badge, those on the two coins with the incuse square are certainly very different. Both parts of the thunderbolt on the Molossian coins are the same, while on the Ambracian dies P 55, P 56 and P 57 one part is formed by two volutes curled outwards and three waved flame-lines; the other part is shaped like a lily-bud. These thunderbolts look more like those we find on some coins of Olympia.¹³⁰

Our hypothesis is that the wreathed staters were probably struck to commemorate an im-

portant victory. The only event that can have left such a mark on the Ambracian currency is the fall of Athens. Although this was certainly not an Ambracian victory, the fact that this colony was always very closely related to the mother-city, and probably helped Corinth in the great war, explains that the Ambracians may have considered it as their own victory too. The grudge Ambracia must have had against Athens owing to the terrible defeat inflicted upon her by the Athenian Demosthenes, fully justifies her rejoicing at the fall of Athens, an event worth commemorating with an issue of coins.

We have already seen that the wreathed staters, 84, 85 and 86, have the obverses from the same die A 41, which is found coupled with the reverses still showing the incuse square, and that this disappears completely afterwards. All these coins must therefore have been issued at about 400 B.C., the date generally accepted for discontinuing the square punch for the reverses. This date would permit the belief that the wreath of laurel-leaves may commemorate the fall of Athens, and therefore we suggest for the end of this period the date of 404 B.C.

Coins 83 and 87 have a very small κ between the thunderbolt and the helmet. This letter is so small that it can be seen on very fine specimens only. The size of the letter may suggest that it is the signature of an artist; this would be the first instance of a signed Ambracian colt.

IV PERIOD, FROM 404 TO 360 B.C.

After the end of the Peloponnesian war we know of no other event that might have left marks on Ambracia's coinage. Fixing the end of Period IV as 360 B.C. is more for the sake of convenience than because of any historical data.

In all the former periods, the symbols, with a few exceptions, are simple and inconspicuous. In this period many of them, especially in groups *B* and *C*, are statuesque in form, and often on a comparatively large scale.

Neither in the coinage of the mother-city, nor in that of her colonies, do we find a series that can be compared with the colts of this period. They are certainly the most interesting and charming of all staters of Corinthian types. Artistically many of them are not out of place among the finest Greek coins.

Group A

The first obverse of this class, A 44, is found coupled with seven reverses. They differ considerably in style, and if the sequence of the dies did not prove it, one would not think they belonged to the same issue.

This obverse A 44 after the first two coins 90 and 91 (Pl. VII), begins to show small flaws under the Pegasos. Two small linear flaws near the A transform this letter in some cases, to a sign that

is very similar to the monogram of Anactorium,¹³¹ This coincidence accounts for the attribution by Head of coins 93 and 94 to the mint of Anactorium. For the same reason in the Cat. Hirsch, XXX, our 92 and in Cat. Egger, 1908, our 93 are given to the same mint.

Before noticing that these coins, 93 and 94, had their obverses from the same dies as other Ambracian staters, their general appearance and the large civic initial, the archaic A of peculiar shape, so characteristic of the Ambracian coins,¹³² prompted placing them under the coins of Ambracia.

On coins 90, 91, 93, 94, 95 and 96, we find for the first time letters in addition to the civic initial. This is exceptional in the Ambracian mint and it is not clear what these letters mean. If they were magistrates' initials one does not understand why they should be only on these six reverses coupled with the same obverse die A 44. And why are they of different sizes and placed all round Athena's head? They look as if they did not belong to one name, but to different words.

On die P 61 under the Goddess' chin there is Δ, and behind the head Π.

On die P 64 under truncation of neck AH, and over the helmet, to left, Ζ.

On die P 65 under the neck HA, and over the helmet the same large Ζ.

On dies P 66 and 67 before the civic initial,

almost in connection with it, a retrograde N.

The large Σ situated opposite the civic A of about the same size, is certainly not a sigma but a M and belongs to the ethnic.

We have already found on die P 57 a small κ that may be a signature initial, but the only ground to support this hypothesis is the size of the letter. But now on dies P 61, P 62 and P 65, we find a very minute A which is certainly the initial of an artist's signature.¹³¹ In this case there is not only the size to support this statement. The other letters on the coins, besides the civic initial, prove that it could not be a magistrate's initial. And the position chosen by the die-cutter for this small A, once in the folding of the neck-guard (P 61 and P 62) and once under the elbow of the little figure of Pan (P 65), leaves no doubt that it is really the signature of an artist.

These two A's are so small that they are hardly visible on the plate.

The symbol on P 63 generally described as a locust is really a cricket (*Grillus campestris* or *domesticus*); the size of the head and thorax and the short elytrae, make it easy to distinguish this insect.

The branch on P 64 was described by Head as a climbing plant,¹³³ and by Babelon as an ivy-branch.¹³⁴ But coin 176 (Pl. XVI) proves by the flower that this is a kind of thistle.

Dies P 66 and P 67 show a head of Pan in pro-

file, and P 65 a Pan with goat's head and legs, holding a branch over his shoulders.¹³⁵

The Pan symbols on these coins prove that his cult was held in honour in Ambracia, probably owing to herding of sheep and goats in the country.¹³⁶

Group B

The link between the former group and this is given by coins 98 and 99. These have the reverses from dies P 64 and P 65 that belong to Group A, but have an obverse die A 46 that we find afterwards coupled with reverses P 68 and P 69 of quite different style and that have always been considered as belonging to an earlier epoch.¹³⁷ That the sequence of dies P 64, P 65, P 68, P 69 is correct, is proved by the wear of die A 46. When coupled with P 65, it is fresh and the A beneath the Pegasos distinctly visible, when with P 68 and P 69, on all the 15 specimens we know, it is more or less effaced, and on some, of very good preservation, one would hardly suspect it ever existed.

It is certain therefore that the reverses of this group follow those of group A.

All these reverses show a constant type of Athena's head, which is of a peculiar style. The eye of the goddess is almond shaped and almost full-face, the neck-guard large and rounded.

They have an archaic aspect which is not in

accordance with the other details of a more advanced style.

Some earlier Leucadian staters ¹³⁹ show exactly the same head of Athena, and we may suppose the Ambracian heads were copied from Leucadian colts, (or vice versa) or that the heads may have been copied independently from a well-known statue or type of Athena. In any event, it is clear that these heads are purposely archaistic.

On coin 106 (Pl. X) we find a lovely girl, in a most realistic style, playing at kottabos. The contrast between this charming little figure and the full face eye of the goddess is striking. A great contrast of style exists too between the two sides of the coins of this group. Dies P 68 and P 69 are first found coupled with the above mentioned A 46, which shows a very poorly modelled Pegasos. The body is long and thin, the neck too long for the small head, and the extraordinarily long tail is almost as long as the body of the horse.

The other obverses improve by degrees and A 49 is the best of all. On this we find for the first time an A on the hind-quarters of the Pegasos. As we find beneath it the civic initial A, we are justified in supposing that this A may be an artist's signature, probably the same that made the beautiful reverses of this group.

We know only coin 108 with this obverse. This coin now in the writer's collection passed through two sales (Hirsch XXXI, and Naville VI) and

nobody noticed this peculiarity, although the A is very distinct.¹⁴⁰ The dies of this group interchange frequently and thus establish the chronological sequence of the coins.

A remarkable peculiarity of this group is that almost all reverses have the ethnic inscribed at full length, but the variations of its spelling are surprising.

On die P 68 and P 69 there is:

AMHPAKIOTAN.

On dies P 70 and P 73 the omicron is replaced by omega, and on die P 71 the B replaces the II.

On die P 84 (Pl. XI), which we now find coupled with two obverses belonging to the following group but which we are convinced will be found some day coupled with the same obverses belonging to the present group, we read: AMHPAK-IOTAN, but the II on coin 124 is larger and heavier than the other letters, and it looks as if it had been recut over another letter, probably B.

It is not easy to explain this variation in spelling on coins that are so similar. Dies P 68, P 69 and P 70 are certainly made by the same artist and dies P 71 and P 84 by another—Imhoof-Blumer remarked that these two last are probably the work of the same die-cutter.¹⁴¹

We might suppose that this group of reverses was issued at the time of the change of the archaic O to Ω, but as we have on an earlier coin the full

retrograde ethnic spelled AMHPAKIΩTAN (76, Pl. VII), we are inclined to believe that the omicron intentionally replaces the omega on these two dies in order to be more in keeping with the archaistic head of Athena.^{141a} Cousinéry had noted the use of B and Π on these coins, and he explains it.¹⁴² As there is only one die with B, and another, probably by the same artist, with a Π that seems to be cut over another letter, we may be justified in supposing that this B was a mistake of the die-cutter, who corrected it afterwards on another die.¹⁴³ The mistake is easily comprehensible if we consider that the Π is pronounced nearly as B after M.

The first three symbols we find on the coins of this group, are the tripod, the lyre (chelys) and the flaming-torch. All three are attributes of Apollo "Ακτιος, who was jointly worshipped by the Akarnanians and the Ambracians, in the famous temple of Aktion. He was considered as the protector of navigation,¹⁴⁴ and therefore it was quite natural that Ambracia who owed her wealth chiefly to her commercial fleet, should honour Apollo "Ακτιος.

The flaming-torch is not a usual symbol of Apollo,^{144a} but on a coin of Akarnania,¹⁴⁵ we see Apollo seated on a rock, and in front of him a flaming-torch, and this Apollo is undoubtedly the Apollo "Ακτιος. The symbol is therefore not only an attribute of Apollo, but it proves that the coins

were issued under the protection of the God worshipped in Aktion.

Die 71 shows a symbol, that is one of the most remarkable and interesting that we find on a stater of Corinthian types.

Helbig has explained that the charming girl standing near the pole, is playing at kottabos.¹⁴⁶ Head repeats this explanation, and says that the girl is balancing the scale or *πλάστιγξ* on the point of the rod that the players may throw their wine at it. Half way up the rod is a basin *κοττάβειον* to catch the wine, or perhaps the scale itself as it fell on being struck by the successful thrower.¹⁴⁷ Imhoof-Blumer describes a vase where there is a maenad in the same attitude as the girl on the Ambracian colt, between two dancing satyrs who take part at the game with cups in their hands. He believes that the girl represents a nymph.¹⁴⁸

The exquisite modelling of the girl, the graceful movement of her body and the pose of her lifted head, make of this charming little figure a real master-work. The contrast between this realistic figure and the conventional Athena's head is striking, as we have already observed, and is evidence that the coin cannot be placed at an earlier period.

Reverse P 74 on coin 111 (Pl. X) has an Athena's head similar to all the others of this group. The eye is still full-face. The symbol, the fore-part of a butting-bull, prompted Head ¹⁴⁹

to connect this coin with 12 (Pl. I) of the second period, the butting-bull on top of Athena's helmet. The type of the Athena, and the obverse which is only a reduction of those preceding, are sufficient proofs that the coin belongs to this group.

No. 113, one of the last of the group, is rather a puzzling coin. If it were not that the obverse is from die A 52, the same found on 111 and 112, it would certainly not be placed here. The head of Athena is of a quite different style and the incuse square would indicate that this die belongs to an earlier period. But all the known specimens are found coupled with the obverse A 52; and although the coin is one of the most common colts of Ambracia, of which fifteen specimens are recorded, they all come from the same pair of dies.

To explain this anachronistic reverse, we may postulate that the die was made at an earlier epoch, and for some reason discarded or put aside. After a long time, in a moment of great need, the available dies being insufficient—perhaps to replace a broken die—it was used for the first time and in conjunction with the obverse-die in use at the moment. The symbol on this coin probably represents the prow of the vessels *Argo* (Ἀργώ) or *Pelias* (Πηλιάς), made from wood taken by Athena from the holy oak of Dodona, in which the sacred doves (πέλειαι) nested. It may therefore be considered as a totem of them.¹⁵⁰

Group C

The three obverses of this group A 53, A 54 and A 55 are of the best style. The prancing Pegasos is well proportioned, the wing large and well drawn and in keeping with the beautiful reverses. The last two have an A on the Pegasos' hind-quarters, such as we already found on die A 49, but the civic initial is no longer on the obverse. On the first die A 53, this A is not visible, but as this letter can be seen on very fine specimens only, and as our only examples so far have a rather worn obverse, it is highly probable that this die too has the same initial in the same place, the more so, that the other die A 56¹⁵¹ shows also the same letter on the Pegasos' hind-quarters.

All these obverses have no letter beneath the Pegasos. It is therefore possible that the civic initial has only changed its place in copying die A 49 on which it probably represented the artist's signature.

The link that relates group B to the present one is given by coins 106 and 115, which have reverses from die P 71 with the beautiful girl playing at kottabos. The sequence of the coins of this group is well established as the dies interchange frequently. We can trace the progression without interruption.

These colts are certainly the finest among all the staters of Corinthian types, and they are of

the greatest interest for the variety and importance of the symbols, which should no longer be called symbols, but, rather, Ambracian types, added to the conventional Corinthian types of the Pegasos and Athena's head.

The girl playing at kottabos is the first of these Ambracian types; the second is a very important one, representing the historical founder of Ambracia. Only two specimens are known with this reverse P 83. One coupled with A 54 was in the Rhousopoulos collection and we do not know where it now is. The other specimen, coupled with A 55, is in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (No. 127, Pl. XI). On this coin there is a fine naked male figure, wearing a conical pilos and supporting himself with a long staff. In front of the Athena head there is the inscription ΓΟΡΓΟΣ—no doubt the name of the hero represented. Owing to the head-gear this figure was taken for a Dioskouros, but R. Rochette recognized that it is Gorgos,¹⁵² son of Kypselos, the leader of the Corinthian colonists. Writers designate this hero in different ways: Torgos, Gordios,¹⁵³ Gorgias or Gorgos. This last, being on the coin, may be considered the correct one.

There is a very striking analogy between Tarentum and Ambracia. In Tarentum the leader of the Lacedaemonian colonists was Phalanthos, the historical oekist of the town.¹⁵⁴ But the mythic, eponymous, native oekist was

Taras, the son of Satyra and Poseidon.¹⁵⁵ In Ambracia the same condition holds. Gorgos, like Phalanthos, is the historical founder of the town, while Ambrax, son of Thesprotos, is the eponymous, native oekist. On the Ambracian colt we find Gorgos leaning on a long plain staff¹⁵⁷ (σκήπτρον), the royal staff, symbolizing his authority over the colony he has founded. On several Tarentine nomoi (Vlasto No. 14) we find Phalanthos with the same symbol of authority.¹⁵⁸

Dies P 78 and 78a on coins 116, 123 and 126 have another interesting Ambracian type, a youthful horned male figure, naked, seated on a bull's head. On die P 78a in front of Athena's head there is the inscription ΑΡΑΘΘΟΣ. On die P 78 the inscription is over the seated figure's head; and on specimen 116a in Berlin we can distinctly read APAT. . . .

The two dies, P 78 and P 78a, although they have different inscriptions and are differently placed, are really the same. P 78 is the first state of the die and P 78a is the state after a modification has been made to it. This is proved by coins 126 a (Pl. XI) and 126g (Cf. Bement, 966). On the first, there is a little flaw under the chin of Athena; on the second, the die-break is larger and crosses the inscription, while on no specimen of 116 can we see a flaw. Furthermore, on all well preserved specimens with reverses from P 78a, one can distinctly see faint traces of the inscription above

the figure; and on specimen 126a, in the writer's collection, one can notice the A of the beginning of the inscription, examining the coin under a tangent light. We may therefore conclude that the inscription on die P 78 being found unsatisfactory, probably because of the mistake in spelling (T instead of Θ), was erased, and the correct one, in front of the Athena head, substituted.

Evidently the horned youth represents a river-god; and since the name inscribed is that of the river flowing through Ambracia, it is obvious that this river-god represents the Arachthos deified.

Imhoof-Blumer¹⁵⁹ and Head¹⁶⁰ explain this figure in the same way, but Babelon¹⁶¹ says: "Sur ce statère le nom *Ἀραρθος* est un nom de magistrat et non point celui du dieu-fleuve Aratthos qui est en symbole derrière la tête de Pallas. L'Aratthos est le fleuve qui arrosait Ambracie; le magistrat appelé aussi Aratthos a pris naturellement pour symbole la figure du dieu-fleuve dont il portait le nom."

Babelon in this case, preoccupied only in finding a plausible confirmation of the "Magistrates'-signet theory," tried to find a roundabout explanation for the symbol, rather than to see in an objective way, the simple evidence of the name of the river inscribed over the head of the river-god.

Coin 128 (Pl. XI), of which we know only the specimen in Mr. Newell's collection, shows a winged male figure riding a dolphin. Head¹⁶² and

Riggauer,¹⁶² describing a later revival, of the same type (Pl. XIV, 150) are of the opinion that the figure represents an Eros, which is only natural as the figure has wings and rides a dolphin. Similar Erotes are often met at later dates. (Cf. Berlin cat., III, Taf, XIV, 209).

The three above mentioned dies, P 78a, P 83 and P 85, have striking analogies of style and composition—on all three the heads of Athena, and the general appearance is exactly the same; and on all three the civic initial is on the bowl of the helmet.

The symbols, of the same nature, are real Ambracian types. On the first two, P 78a and P 83, they are treated in the same way and placed similarly. Both dies have names opposite the symbols.

The two figures on dies P 78a and P 85 are in an attitude that is peculiar—both are clasping hands round the left knee. There can be little doubt that the three reverses are the work of the same artist.

We have seen how similar the reverses P 78 a, P 83 and P 85 are—this last has the winged dolphin-rider in place of Gorgos and Arachthos, which are on the other two. If this winged figure represents an Eros it would be out of place between the oekist and the river-god of Ambracia. We may therefore infer that he represents a local hero. It would not be surprising if on a more

complete specimen of 128, we were to find an inscription in front of Athena's face, as with ΓΟΡΓΟΣ on die P 83 and ΑΡΑΘΘΟΣ on die P 78a, which would explain the meaning of the winged dolphin-rider and give us his name.

As we have already said,¹⁶⁴ die P 84 (Pl. XI) really belongs to the previous group. Athena's head is exactly the same as on die P 71. The youthful naked male figure, standing with his right hand raised to his head, is very similar to the girl playing at kottabos. Imhoof-Blumer had previously observed this likeness and suggested that the two dies were made by the same die-cutter, which is highly probable. He supposes that this die is a pendant of die P 71 and that the two complete each other. He says that this figure may represent a young Pan looking at the playing nymph.¹⁴¹ Head considers that it represents an athlete.¹⁶²

All the known specimens of this coin were more or less incomplete, the head of the figure always partially off-flan. This accounts for Imhoof-Blumer's and Head's suggestions. The only specimen that shows the complete figure is 125 f, in Paris (de Rothschild coll.), and this was not known to them. On 125 f, one can see that the handsome youth with long wavy curls wears a Corinthian helmet without crest or neck-guard. His r. hand is raised above the vizor in the attitude of taking off or putting on his helmet. This

figure may represent the copy of a statue of a local hero.

A naked figure with a helmet might represent Ares, but against this attribution is the fact that the god is never associated with Athena, who was known to be his enemy and the only one that could stand against him.^{163a} Besides Ares in this epoch is generally represented either wearing a chlamys, or naked, with a crested helmet and a spear in his hand.

Babelon describing coin 125d in the British Museum says that the obverse has AM under the Pegasos while in reality there is no letter at all, the civic initial being on the hind-quarters, on both dies A 54 and A 55. This error is understandable because in the catalogue of the British Museum there is no indication at all on the obverses of 5 and 6; and as there is AM under the Pegasos of 4, he thought all three had AM.

The reverse from die P 82 on coins 120 and 129 shows a flying Eros (?) binding an olive-wreath round Athena's helmet. Babelon places this coin by mistake, under Corinth and supposes the wreath is of laurel and is meant to commemorate the victory of Chaeronea.¹⁶⁷ But afterwards, in the posthumous part of his *Traité*, he describes the London specimen and repeats Head's explanation about the olive-wreath.¹⁶⁸

The reverse from die P 81 on coins 119, 131 and 133 has a symbol representing a Gorgon's head

placed sideways. The tongue instead of being downwards is towards Athena's neck.

Although this position is puzzling, the choice of the symbol is quite natural. Probably it is an allusion to the epithet of γοργοφόνος often given to Athena ¹⁶⁹ and is employed as a protection against evil influences, the Gorgon's head being known as one of the most powerful ἀποτρόπαια.¹⁷⁰

This die P 81 is the only Ambracian die with the civic initial A on the neck guard, the small A we find on coins 90 and 91 in the same place being a signature.

Die P 79 shows a bearded hero wearing a conical pilos and armed with sword and shield. Only on the specimen 117g (Pl. X) can this symbol be seen completely. On all others, the shield is partially off-flan, and looks like a bow.

PERIOD V, FROM 360 TO 338 B.C.

As we have already stated, the date for the beginning of the present period is only conjectural. The reverses have still the same kind of Ambracian types for symbols but a new type of Pegasos marks the commencement of the period. The end corresponds to the closing of the Ambracian mint in 338 B.C., after the battle of Chaeronea, when Philip of Macedon placed a garrison in the town.¹⁷

Under Pyrrhus, and afterwards, Ambracia struck coins only sporadically—chiefly bronzes.

Group A

The first Pegasos of this group is a new type, and entirely different from all the others of the series. It looks like a "revival" of the archaic Pegasos with curled wing, but instead of flying, he is walking. There is an exergual line. A similar Pegasos is found on a corresponding issue of Corinthian staters, of which we illustrate six specimens on Pl. XIX.

These staters were considered as belonging to the fifth century,¹⁷¹ which is certainly a mistake. The style of the reverses is of much later date, and it is more likely that they, as well as the Ambracian coins of this group, belong to the middle of the fourth century.

The archaism of this walking Pegasos is undoubtedly intentional, and is evidently copied from a well-known Corinthian work of art. The style of the Ambracian reverses coupled with die A 57 (Pl. XII) and the following Pegasos with pointed wing that we find on die A 58 coupled with some of the same reverses, proves sufficiently that this archaistic Pegasos belongs to this group. These two Pegasoi although different in design, show a head in the very same pose. On both it is slightly turned to l. and is not quite in profile.

The Pegasos on die A 58 (Pl. XIII) shows a remarkable peculiarity found in this and the following group only. The wing is composed of three rows of feathers, one of long and two of small

feathers. This very characteristic feature permits us to establish the sequence of the following group. Die A 57 after the first coin, 135 (Pl. XII), shows a flaw on the exergual line which is very small on coins 136 and much larger on coins 137 and 138 (Pl. XII). This flaw gives us the possibility of establishing the exact chronological sequence of dies P 86, P 87, P 88 and P 89. Die P 86, the first of the present group is in fact very similar to the previous reverses, with the same kind of Ambracian type; and the obverse coupled with it is fresh and shows that it comes from a new die (see coins 135b and 135i, Pl. XII).

Dies P 86 and P 87 are very similar—only the symbols change, but P 88 and P 89 are of completely different style—they look older, and the symbols too are of a simple nature, as we find on earlier coins. Judging only by the appearance, they should have been placed in an earlier period.

Coin 135 is a very interesting one, the symbol on the reverse is a real "*tableau de genre*" and one of the Ambracian type that we have seen in the previous group. Head,¹⁷² having only the specimen of the British Museum where half the symbol is off-flan, could not see what it really was and gives therefore the following very ingenious explanation: "Naked male figure, perhaps Ambrax the traditional founder, seated on rocks, while on the other side of the principal type a

swan swims to the left, this type symbolizing perhaps the city of Ambracia, the acropolis of which occupied a rocky height at the foot of which the river Arachthus, indicated by the swan, flowed through a fertile plain towards the Ambracian gulf."¹⁶⁰

On the splendid specimen of the same coin from the Imhoof-Blumer collection, we can distinctly see that what was taken for a swan is really the very same symbol we have already seen on the coins of the second period beneath the Pegasos (Pl. I, 12, 13 and Pl. II, 14 to 20). It represents a serpent coiled round a land-tortoise and striking at it.¹⁷³ Head's suggestion that the naked figure represents Ambrax is very probable and the staff that the figure holds in his left hand, a symbol of authority, seems to confirm that this is the mythical oekist of Ambracia.

We may reconstruct Head's explanation taking into consideration our own exegesis of the symbol wrongly described as a swan. Ambrax, the eponymous oekist of the town, seated, with the staff as symbol of his authority in his hand, is witnessing the destruction of the "turtle" by Erichthonios.

The serpent-turtle symbol first appeared on coins issued just after the stoppage of the Aeginetan "turtles." At the time, as we stated, it was probably an allusion to the disappearance of a strong competitor of the "colts" and was a sort of

prevision of the consequences that this would have on the diffusion of the "colts." It may be surprising to find the same symbol on coins of an epoch in which Aegina was again striking coins, but before 456 B.C. the "turtles" were almost a Peloponnesian currency and a dangerous competitor of the Corinthian staters, while after the fall of Athens, the coins of Aegina were only a local currency, no longer interfering with the Corinthian influence.

Coin 136, immediately following the above, has a symbol always described as "Infant Heracles strangling serpents," and it is really surprising that nobody should have noticed there were no serpents to be found in the boy's hands! The mistaking of the serpent-turtle symbol for a swan is quite comprehensible as the symbol is often partly off-flan. The tortoise looks like the back of the swan and the serpent like its neck, but the symbol on coin 136 is always complete, and nothing can be mistaken for serpents, although Head, Babelon, Grose and others, seem to have detected them.

This plump little boy is certainly not the infant Heracles. He is in a squatting attitude, the right knee slightly higher than the left, as if he were raising himself. With his left hand he supports himself on the ground—his right is raised as if pointing at something.

On an Apulian vase in the R. Museum of Bo-

logna, there is a similar plump boy, with a thyrsos in his right hand; he is in the same squatting attitude.¹⁷⁵ Above him is inscribed Διονύσος,¹⁷⁴ and to the left there is the head of Persephone-Kore. Gerhard¹⁷⁶ illustrated this vase and identified the child as Iacchos, the mystic offspring of Kore.

Evans,¹⁷⁷ speaking of a small Tarentine gold coin with a similar boy, but with a distaff in his right hand and a spool of wool in his left, describes the same vase and says that the child on the coin may be regarded as the infantile representation of Taras, and the comparison with the boy on the vase marks the influence of a prevalent Chthonic cult on that of the eponymic founder.

Iacchos was often represented as a handsome boy, ὠπαῖος Θεός,¹⁷⁸ and his place near Athena's head could perhaps be explained by the version that he was saved by Dionysos and given to Athena who nursed him.¹⁷⁹

As Gerhard's identification of the boy on the above mentioned vase is generally accepted, we may be justified in thinking that the symbol on the Ambracian stater represents Iacchos; and, if so, it is probably to be connected with the annual Eleusinian festivals.

The symbol we find on coins 137, 138, 142 and 143, is an androcephalous bull, full-face and in profile. The head in profile is similar to the

symbol found on the colts of Stratos,¹⁸⁰ which evidently represent the river-god Acheloüs. Oberhummer's¹⁸¹ opinion that this head on the Ambracian staters may represent the river-god Aracthos is to be discarded; we have already seen that Aracthos was represented as a youth, while this is the bearded face of an elderly man and therefore certainly an Acheloüs head. The cult of this river-god was not localized in the country through which the greatest of the Greek rivers passed, but was general over all Greece.¹⁸¹

But Acheloüs was not only the river-god, he was also the personification of the liquid element and was therefore an important part of the cult of Dodona,¹⁸² where Zeus had the surname of *Náïos* and the oracles delivered there began generally with: *Ἀχελώω θύειν*.¹⁸¹ We may therefore conclude that these symbols on the Ambracian colts not only represent Acheloüs' head, but are closely related to the famous temple of Dodona.

The symbol we find on 144 is a flying dove (Pl. XIII); next to it, there is NI. A similar bird is found on two other coins of the series, 148 and 181 (Pl. XIII and Pl. XVI), this last one with the inscription *ΝΙΚΟΣΘΗ*. . . . This dove is probably one of the *Peleiai* (*Πέλειαι*), the sacred birds of Dodona, that nested in the holy oak. From the flight of these doves, and the places where they perched, the priestess, *Peleias*, interpreted the oracle of Zeus.¹⁸³ This is therefore

probably another Dodonian symbol employed as an ἀποτρόπαιον.¹⁸⁴

Coins 139 and 140 (Pl. XIII), also have a very interesting symbol—a beautiful little figure of Zeus, striding to right and hurling a thunderbolt. This small Zeus examined under a magnifying glass, shows the most perfect features and anatomy. The well-proportioned body and great accuracy in the smallest details make this a marvellous figure. Few Greek coins can show so nearly perfect workmanship in such a reduced size.

This Zeus is certainly not the creation of the artist who made Athena's head, which, although good, shows certain weaknesses. The helmet is too small for the head and there is a general flatness to the whole. It is probable that he carefully copied the Zeus from a well-known and celebrated work of art. As the previous symbols refer to Dodona, it would not be impossible that this is the statue of the famous Dodonian Zeus.

It is regrettable that the best known specimen, illustrated on Pl. XIII, although very good, is not in mint state. If it were, we might perhaps discover round the Zeus' head the wreath of oak-leaves.

An argument in favour of our hypothesis is the little bronze found in Dodona and now in the Berlin Museum.¹⁸⁵ This, although of very rough style shows a Zeus in exactly the same attitude.

He is striding to right and hurling a thunderbolt with his right hand, while the left is outstretched. Arms and legs are in the same pose. It is possible that this bronze is a rough copy of the same statue. Considering that Ambracia was on the easiest route to the famous sanctuary of Dodona, while from the coast opposite Corcyra the way was very steep and difficult, and several parallel chains of mountains had to be climbed before reaching the town,¹⁸⁶ it is natural that a continuous flow of pilgrims should have passed through Ambracia so that she was constantly in contact with Dodona. This would explain the reason for frequently choosing Dodonian symbols for her coins.

The two reverses, P 90 and P 97, have heads of Athena that look to be from the same die. The dolphin under the neck of the Goddess and the A over the Zeus are perhaps added afterwards.

Group B

The most interesting coin of this group is that with a naked figure kneeling under the Pegasos, examining its hoof. This obverse A 61 (Pl. XIII), is different from all other obverses of the whole series; it stands quite isolated. We are able to place it here owing to the kindness of Sir Charles Oman, who kindly sent me a cast of the remarkable and probably unique stater in his collection, with Pegasos flying over a running

Chimaera (145, Pl. XIII). This coin is the link between the previous group and the present. The Pegasos on the obverse A 60 is very similar to that on die A 58; the only difference is that one is slightly smaller than the other. Both Pegasoi have their heads and wings of the same shape. As we have already remarked, all wings previously have had only two rows of small feathers—these two have three rows.

The Pegasos following on die A 61, although standing instead of flying, is very similar. It has the same head, and the wing is also composed of three rows of small feathers. This would be enough to show that A 60 and A 61 follow each other, but both obverses are coupled with the same reverse, P 94, therefore it is evident that the two coins 145 and 146 belong to the same issue. Coin 145, now published for the first time, has on the obverse as we have noted, a running chimaera under the flying Pegasos. Nos. 146 and 147 have the same obverse, A 61, on which we see, under the standing Pegasos, a little figure holding the right hoof in his hand and examining it.

Nowhere else in this series, excepting the coins of the second period with the serpent-turtle symbol on the obverses (Pl. I and II), do we find symbols on the Pegasos die.

Dies A 60 and A 61 seem exceptions, but it is evident they are not symbols. Neither the chi-

maera nor the little figure are independent of the principal type—they are integral parts of the myth of Pegasos. On the first it is obvious that the Pegasos flying over the chimaera is an allusion to the fight of Bellerophon with that monster.

The second obverse is less easy to understand and has been interpreted variously. Mionnet thought it represented a satyr, owing to a small tail he imagined he saw.¹⁸⁷ Head described this little figure as a naked youth sitting on a low stool and examining the hoof of Pegasos; he supposed this coin to have been inspired by a contemporary didrachm of Tarentum¹⁸⁸ (Evans type C—Period IV) which has exactly the same figure under the horse. Evans described it as "a naked boy picking a pebble from the horse's hoof."¹⁸⁹ Babelon, too, states that the Ambracian colt has been copied from the Tarentine coin, and adds that these kinds of reproductions of types are due to the fancy of the die-cutters or mint-magistrates who "*s'en sont fait un jeu et un amusement.*"¹⁹⁰

The numismatists who have described this coin have had only one or two specimens at their disposal, and as the little figure is very small, and often badly struck or blurred, their descriptions are not always exact.

We have carefully examined fourteen casts from the same die, and have ascertained the following points:

1. The figure does not represent a boy, but a strong muscular man; and the face, very clear on some specimens, is not that of a boy.

2. He has no tail. On some specimens (e.g., 146b) a small tail-like flaw can be seen, but on others (like 147a) this is much larger and can no longer be taken for a tail. On others, again (146d), the flaw does not exist.

3. He is not sitting on a stool, but sits on his right heel; the left foot can be seen beneath the right knee.

4. He holds the hoof with his left hand, while his right is above it. The attitude is of attentive examination.

From these observations we may conclude that the figure is not a satyr or a young boy as on the Tarentine nomos.

Babelon's hypothesis of a die-cutter or magistrate amusing himself by imitating another coin that represents "*a boy picking a pebble out of a horse's hoof*" is highly improbable—the Greek mentality was far too subtle to indulge in such "pastime."

Eckhel, in his *Numi Veteres Anecdoti*, suggested an explanation that has been forgotten. With the support of some verses of Dionysos Periegetes and comments of the Scholiast Eustathios, where it is recorded that Pegasos before reaching Tarsos had lost a hoof,¹⁹¹ he says that the little figure represents Bellerophon examining the injured foot of

Pegasos.¹⁹² This is a very probable explanation and our observations exactly correspond with it. Furthermore, it receives confirmation from the obvious meaning of obverse A 60 on coin 145 of the same issue.

As stated above, both coins have therefore obverses representing an incident of the myth of Pegasos.

Consequently we may conclude that this Ambracian colt has mythological significance, and that the Tarentine nomos has not. It is therefore but reasonable that this last one should have been inspired by the first and not vice-versa, as has been supposed. The colts circulated freely in South Italy, and may have tempted a Tarentine die-cutter to copy them. The nomoi of Tarentum of lighter weight were certainly not frequently to be met in Ambracia. Consequently, the Ambracian coin is earlier than the Tarentine. The better style of the latter is not surprising if we consider that the mint of Tarentum possessed such famous artists, as ΦΙ and ΚΑΛ at the time.¹⁹³

On coins 148 and 149 (Pl. XIII-XII) we see again a sacred *πέλεια* of Dodona, such as we have already found on die P 93.

On coin 151 there is a serpent, another effective *ἀποτρόπαιον*.¹⁹⁴

Die P 97 on the rare coin 150 is a revival of die P 85 (Pl. XI). The head is larger—the A is no longer on the bowl of the helmet, but under the

neck truncation, The dolphin-rider, larger too, is in the same attitude—clasping his hands round the left knee.

This is the only case of a revival of an old type in all the Ambracian series, and seems to confirm our opinion that the dolphin-rider is not intended for the usual Eros. As we already stated, it is probable that it represents a local hero, whose name we may learn some day.

Head suggested that this type was also inspired by the Tarentine *nomoi*.¹⁴⁷ This was natural enough as he believed that the type found on coin 146 was borrowed from the same mint. But if coin 150 were the only coin having such faint resemblance to the Tarentine coinage, we are sure he would never have suggested that the winged-hero was borrowed from Tarentum.

Coins 152, 153, 155, 156 and 159 are the simplest colts of Ambracia. After the interesting and elaborate dies we have been considering, they make a strange contrast.

Like dies P 94 and P 95, die P 99 has only the civic initial, but in the first two it was only natural that they should be simple, as they were coupled with a very pictorial obverse, while in this very simple coin there are just the standard Corinthian types.

Die P 100 (153, 155 and 156, Pl. XIV) is still simpler—merely Athena's head. This is certainly the least interesting of the series.

Die P 101 (154 and 157) and P 102 (158), on the contrary, are very remarkable. The heads are exactly the same—as though they were from the same die—but the symbols are different. Naturally it would be possible that the shrimp might have been cut over the dolphin, but it does not seem in exactly the same place.

Group C

From this moment to the closing of the mint, the wing of Pegasos shows a marked tendency to curl upwards. This peculiarity of the wing is common to all late staters of Corinthian types. In this group this peculiarity is just perceptible, but in the following it is more accentuated.

The Pegasoi on the five obverses composing this group are all very similar. The first four reverses have Olympian symbols—they are all evidently derived from the staters of Olympia.

Die P 103 has a thunderbolt of a very uncommon shape, the upper part composed of two wings and a central dart. These wings are not symmetrically disposed; the left one overlaps the dart to right. A similar thunderbolt is found on certain coins of Olympia¹⁹⁵ (Seltman, 166, die δθ, Pl. V). We know only one specimen of coin, 160, Pl. XIV, with this symbol. It is, we believe, hitherto unpublished.

Die P 104 has an eagle with spread wings standing on a ram's head; this too is very similar to a

coin of Olympia (Seltman, 320, die iθ, XI). The resemblance to the Olympian coins is so strong that E. Curtius¹⁹⁶ supposed Elis had also struck coins of Corinthian types and that our 157 might be a colt of this town.

Die P 105 shows an eagle with spread wings holding a serpent in its beak, similar to the eagle of another Olympian stater (Seltman 123, die BH, Pl. IV). P 106 has another symbol of the same kind, an eagle standing upright as on Seltman 312 (die θω, XI).

All four reverses are found coupled with the same obverse. They are all very rare, and but few specimens are known of each. They must have been in use for a short time only.

These symbols are too numerous and too similar to the coins mentioned to be considered as a casual coincidence. They are certainly taken from the Olympian types and must have been chosen to commemorate an Ambracian event in connection with Olympia. What this event could have been is rather difficult to conjecture; certainly it was not political. Perhaps it was the admission of Ambracia to the Olympian games, or rather some important agonistic victory obtained there.

The other reverses of this group which share obverses with the previous, have another characteristic that is distinctive—the helmet of Athena has a crest. To our knowledge, this crested helmet is found on these colts and on some of Anacto-

rium and Leucas. The combination of dies of coins with the crested helmet and those with the Olympian symbols proves that they follow each other. The symbol found with the crested helmet is always a spear-head, a characteristic Aeakid badge, which became at a later period a recognized badge of the autonomous Epirote mints.¹⁹⁷

Group D

The coins that form this group all have the Pegasos with the wing curled upwards. Their style is rather poor and clearly shows the beginning of decadence. The two obverses, A 76 and A 77 (Pl. XV—XVI), must have been used for a long time. The first we find coupled with four reverses, the second with eight.

On the obverse of coin 173 there are such large flaws that the Pegasos is completely disfigured. It is astonishing that such a damaged die should still have been used. No coins without these flaws are known.

The following die A 77 has also large flaws but we can follow the progression of the fracture of the die from the beginning. No. 174 is the first coin we find with this obverse and the flaw is very small near the Pegasos' right hind-leg.

Reverse P 114 is almost the same as P 115; but very small differences enable us to see that they are not the same die. This coin is the link between the two obverses and proves that A 77

replaces A 76 when this was completely broken. The small flaw we see on the above mentioned coin progressively augments in size, until on coin 181 the die shows a large lump that covers the hind-legs of the Pegasos. The chronological sequence of the seven reverses can therefore easily be established.

The continued use of the two obverses so damaged is almost unique in the Greek series; either very bad metal was employed in making the dies,^{197a} or they had great difficulties in making new ones. Anyhow, although this may sound incredible, it seems that only one pair of dies was in use at the time and that one die replaced the other when this could no longer be used.

We think it necessary to remark for the sake of accuracy that the fractures show practically the same state of progression on all the specimens of the same couplings. We have not chosen extremes to illustrate on the plates, but just the best available specimens. Thus, for instance, all three specimens of 181 show the obverse in the same state of fracture.

A very strange circumstance is that of all the eleven reverses found coupled with these two obverses, but one (P 112) shows a small fracture. It has always been thought the reverses wore more quickly than the obverses, and the greater number of them seems to prove it. But if this be so, how is it that the surviving coins do not show traces of

wear? The only explanation would be that they were changed frequently and as soon as a fracture appeared; but, if so, why were not the obverse dies changed too, when they were in such a state—for example the obverses on coins 170, 173, 180 and 181?

Dies P 111 and P 112 have a thymiaterion for symbol. Here we can see that the burner is very small and shaped like an acorn. This shows that the ending of the swinging thymiaterion, of which we have spoken on p. 102, is not too small for a burner. Dies P 113 and P 114 have Athena's head from the same die, but P 114 has a bunch of grapes added afterwards to the die. It may be that this bunch of grapes has been added to hide a fracture of the die.

On die P 117 there is a branch of thistle for symbol. Babelon described it as a poppy—probably he did not notice the flower or that the leaves had thorns.

Dies P 118, 119, 120, 121 and 126 all have the same symbol—the obelisk of Ambracia, which we have already found on coin 43 (Pl. IV) of the II Period.¹²⁴

Coin 181 is very interesting. We know only three specimens of it. On the London specimen there are five letters, NIKOΣ; on the specimen in the writer's collection the inscription is more complete, NIKOΣΘΕ . . ., but some letters are obviously missing. Probably the complete inscrip-

tion is Nikosthenes. If this is the name of a magistrate, it would be the only Ambracian colt with a magistrate's name. The symbol of this very late coin is a dove, such as we found on coin 144 (Pl. XIII) on which, near the dove, we find NI.

As we know no other Ambracian colt with a magistrate's name, we are more inclined to believe that ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕ . . . does not represent the name of a magistrate but a name of a local hero like ΓΟΡΓΟΣ.

Die P 124 is again inscribed AMIIPA, which is a very remarkable feature for such a late coin.

Head places 183 at a very early period, probably owing to the ethnic, but there is no doubt that it is one of the last colts of Ambracia. The Pegasos' wing curled upwards is a very sure feature of a late issue, and it is never found before the fifth period. Besides, the style of Athena's head is very bad too and certainly has nothing in common with the archaistic style of our 100, 101, 102 (Pl. IX) and 106 (Pl. X), among which the coin was placed in the Catalogue of the British Museum.¹⁹⁸

This coin, like the two following, has the obverse from the same die A 78, with AM beneath the Pegasos; 183 and 184, illustrated on Pl. XVI, have this M off-flan, but on 182 it is visible. The M near the A was probably necessary at the time to distinguish the colts of Ambracia from those of Argos, this mint having started to employ the

civic initial A as Ambracia had always done before.

Nos. 184 and 182 are both known by one specimen only—the first in the writer's collection and the second in Paris, where it is among the colts of uncertain mints. This coin has a very peculiar symbol; the very careful and realistic reproduction permits us to establish that it does not represent the common locust which we often find used as a symbol on Greek coins, but the female of *Locusta viridissima* or *cantans*, bearing eggs, which accounts for the abnormal size of the abdomen.

Uncertain Mints

The coins under this heading are generally considered as belonging to Ambracia.

They are of three distinct groups. To the first belong 186, 187, and 188; they are of a quite peculiarly coarse style—the Pegasos on the only obverse found coupled with the three reverses is of very rough workmanship. We meet with nothing similar in all the Ambracian series, but on some colts of South Italy (Locri) we do find a style approaching this. The heads of Athena are very flat and they seem to be the work of an unskilled die-cutter.

This group with the large A on the reverses can hardly be accredited to a mint other than Ambracia, but because of the style and the fact that

these coins stand quite isolated, we place them under the "Uncertain Mints." We are inclined to believe that they may be imitations of Ambracian Colts, made in Southern Italy, where they are generally found.

The second group is composed of a single reverse die, with two obverses. If this coin (190, Pl. XVII) is of Ambracia, it would stand quite isolated in the established sequence. The style of the reverse is good, but the obverses with which we find it coupled are of very bad style; the first is similar to A 80, but the second has a Pegasos of the peculiar type that is found on very late colts only. The olive-wreath placed on the helmet below the bowl, and the long flowing loose locks visible on both sides of the neck as though a strong wind were blowing from behind the Athena's head, give to the coin a very peculiar appearance. We are tempted to believe it belongs to another mint, perhaps Apollonia or Anactorium, the lyre and the wreathed helmet being often met on coins of this last mint.

To the third group belong the coins 191 and 192 (Pl. XVII). The style of reverses P 131 and P 132 can be considered as very good for such late coins, but the modelling is very flat and too sweet and conventional. One can clearly see that the preoccupation of the die-cutter was with making something pretty. A strikingly similar style is found on the Pyrrhic coins, made in Sicily.

These coins are perhaps the only colts struck in Ambracia after the closing of the mint. We conjecture that they were struck at the time when Pyrrhus made Ambracia his capital.¹⁹⁹ Their rarity seems to confirm that they were soon replaced by the currency of the Epirote ruler.

Coins 193 and 194, illustrated on Pl. XVII, both in Berlin, are barbarous imitations. On the first, the shape of the letter behind the Athena's head is noteworthy. The die-cutter did not understand the peculiar shape of the Ambracian A¹³²; he thought it was an ornamental device and copied it as a triangle Δ. This seems to be the coin illustrated by Cousinéry.²⁰⁰

The second has a reverse that is rather closely copied from die P 113 (Pl. XV), but the obverse shows a Pegasos that we never find on colts of a Greek mint. Only on Syracusan colts do we sometimes find the Pegasos with both wings visible.

A third coin illustrated on the same plate (195) is an ancient imitation too; the reverse is copied from die P 65 (Pl. IX) and the reverse is copied from a die of Leucas (cf. B. M. C., Pl. XXXIV, 8). Such a Pegasos with curled wing is not known as yet in the Ambracian series. This coin is very light; it weighs grm. 6.70 only, but it is certainly genuine. Unfortunately enough the coin that was kindly sent to me by Count Chandon de Briailles has been lost in the mail.

Coin *a*, illustrated on Pl. XVII, is in Naples in the Santangelo Collection; there is no doubt that the inscription at full length is a modern addition.

Cousinéry illustrates on Pl. IV, 9, a similar coin inscribed in full on the obverse, over the Pegasos; both coins have an A on the Pegasos' hind-quarters; they are of exactly the same technique. The A is very heavy and was probably made by cutting away the horse's thigh. These coins are certainly forgeries, and as they look very similar it is probable that they come both from the same counterfeiter.

Several catalogues illustrate coins of Gela, Agrigentum, Messana and even colts, with pellets and extraordinary symbols added to common coins by clever soldering. There was an engraver in Catania, a certain Geremia, who made a specialty of this kind of falsification, and although we do not know of any such forgeries for Ambracia, we think it of interest to describe some colts that passed through public sales with the addition of spurious symbols.^{202a}

Leucas. Large head, with Phrygian cap added on the reverse. Egger Sale, 1906, 366.

Anactorium. Large head, with conical pilos added on the obverse. Same sale, 367.²⁰¹

Corinth. Three pellets added on the reverse. Egger Sale, 1909, 352.

Locri. Three pellets added on the obverse.
Same sale, 369. Hirsch XXX, 517.

Locri. Pecten-shell added on the reverse. Egger
Sale, 1909, 370.

Syracuse E. T. Newell Coll.

All these coins were altered by the same man, now dead. As they are published, they might be dangerous for students. The coin with pellets, added might lead to fallacious metrological conclusions.^{201a}

REMARKS ON DIES

The following table gives the number of all recorded specimens for each die. The dies are divided by periods and groups so that it is possible to see the peculiarities of each group.

A similar table has been established by L. O. Th. Tudeer for the tetradrachms of Syracuse²⁰² and by W. Schwabacher for the tetradrachms of Selinus.²⁰⁴ We think it of some interest to compare the three tables.

Syracuse	709 specimens,	43 A-dies,	80 P-dies.
Selinus	262 specimens,	14 A-dies,	35 P-dies.
Ambracia	619 specimens,	79 A-dies,	126 P-dies.

The maximum number of specimens from the same die are:

For Syracuse	53 from A-dies,	38 from P-dies.
For Selinus	59 from A-dies,	19 from P-dies.
For Ambracia	44 from A-dies,	22 from P-dies.

The exceptionally high number of specimens from the same A-die in Selinus may perhaps be explained if we consider that probably the greatest number of the recorded coins come from one hoard. The die must have been in use for a long time, as several coins show a very large fracture.

In Ambracia, also, the maximum number of specimens from the same A-die is proportionately much larger than in Syracuse.

It seems that in the mint of Ambracia they did not mind using a broken die for the obverse, but they were very particular about changing the P-dies as soon as a small fracture appeared. We know only a few reverses with flaws, and these are very small, while some obverses are badly fractured. Perhaps in Ambracia the A-dies were fastened to the anvil, and therefore even if they were broken they could still be used, while the P-die, used as a punch, received the blow. If damaged, it could not have stood the hammering, and they were therefore obliged to change it as soon as it was damaged (cf. page 146).

The average of the number of A-dies in relation with P-dies is the following in the three series:

Syracuse 10 to 18,

Selinus 10 to 25,

Ambracia 10 to 15.

For this last series the average is misleading. Even if we do not consider the abnormal proportion of the two dies that we have already re-

marked for the first period (p. 85), the ratio between the two dies is variable even between two groups of the same period.

We have for instance in groups A and B of period II

10 to 12,

and in group C of the same period we have 3 A-dies for 9 P-dies, or proportionally

10 to 30 (!),

and in group B of period V

10 to 8,

while in group D of the same period 4 A-dies for 16 P-dies, or proportionally

10 to 40.

Such discrepancies are difficult to explain. A possible hypothesis would be that the coins of groups C/II and D/V may perhaps have come from one or two finds composed of coins of the same issue, being couplings of a large number of reverses (P-die) with the same obverse (A-die), while those of groups A-B/II and B/V have been found singly. Perhaps in the last-named groups many other reverses existed of which no specimens have survived. This is mere conjecture, and for the present cannot be substantiated as no record of a find of colts exists.

We may conclude that the original ratio between obverses and reverses was certainly much larger than the average of *10 to 15*.

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TABLE OF THE RECORDED SPECIMENS

	A-dies	Number	P-dies	Number
I PERIOD	1	8	1	5
Group A	2	3	2	3
6 A-dies, 21 spec.	3	1	3	5
4 P-dies, 21 spec.	4	4	4	8
	5	3		
	6	2		
Group B	7	2	5	9
3 A-dies, 18 spec.	8	8	6	9
2 P-dies, 18 spec.	9	8		
II PERIOD	10	4	7	5
Group A	11	4	8	2
4 A-dies, 17 spec.	12	3	9	1
5 P-dies, 17 spec.	13	6	10	6
			11	3
	14	4	12	1
	15	1	13	1
	16	1	14	3
Group B	17	3	15	1
8 A-dies, 16 spec.	18	1	16	1
10 P-dies, 15 spec.	19	1	17	1
	20	4	18	1
	21	1	19	1
			20	4
			21	1
	22	4	22	1
	23	10	23	3
	24	5	24	1
Group C			25	1
3 A-dies, 19 spec.			26	1
9 P-dies, 19 spec.			27	2
			28	4
			29	1
			30	5

	A-dies	Number	P-dies	Number
III PERIOD	25	1	31	8
<i>Group A</i>	26	3	32	3
5 A-dies, 16 spec.	27	7	33	2
3 P-dies, 13 spec.	28	3		
	29	2		
<i>Group B</i>	30	5	34	5
2 A-dies, 21 spec.	31	16	35	4
4 P-dies, 21 spec.			36	6
			37	6
<i>Group C</i>	32	5	38	4
2 A-dies, 19 spec.	33	14	39	1
5 P-dies, 19 spec.			40	1
			41	7
			42	6
<i>Group D</i>	34	4	43	5
4 A-dies, 55 spec.	35	7	44	6
7 P-dies, 55 spec.	36	28	45	4
	37	16	46	8
			47	13
			48	10
			49	9
<i>Group E</i>	38	4	50	4
3 A-dies, 18 spec.	39	10	51	8
5 P-dies, 18 spec.	40	4	52	1
			53	3
			54	2
<i>Group F</i>			55	3
3 A-dies, 23 spec.	41	12	56	2
6 P-dies, 23 spec.	42	10	57	5
	43	1	58	1
			59	2
			60	10

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	A-dies	Number	P-dies	Number
	44	34	61	9
IV PERIOD	45	1	62	1
Group A			63	9
2 A-dies, 35 spec.			64	5
7 P-dies, 35 spec.			65	5
			66	5
			67	1
	46	19	68	12
	47	12	69	10
	48	26	70	14
Group B	49	1	71	15
7 A-dies, 101 spec.	50	1	72	1
10 P-dies, 95 spec.	51	21	73	22
	52	21	74	4
			75	1
			76	15
			77	1
	53	18	78	3
	54	10	78	13
	55	28	79	10
Group C	56	3	80	7
4 A-dies, 59 spec.			81	4
8 P-dies, 56 spec.			82	9
			83	2
			84	7
			85	1
	57	44	86	15
	58	19	87	10
V PERIOD	59	1	88	18
Group A			89	9
3 A-dies, 64 spec.			90	4
8 P-dies, 64 spec.			91	5
			92	2
			93	1

	A-dies	Number	P-dies	Number
<i>Group B</i> 11 A-dies, 41 spec. 9 P-dies, 41 spec.	60	1	94	9
	61	15	95	7
	62	2	96	6
	63	9	97	3
	64	3	98	2
	65	4	99	4
	66	1	100	5
	67	1	101	2
	68	1	102	3
	69	3		
	70	1		
<i>Group C</i> 5 A-dies, 30 spec. 8 P-dies, 30 spec.			103	1
	71	9	104	3
	72	5	105	4
	73	3	106	2
	74	10	107	3
	75	3	108	4
			109	10
			110	3
<i>Group D</i> 4 A-dies, 46 spec. 16 P-dies, 46 spec.			111	6
	76	12	112	2
	77	28	113	1
	78	5	114	3
	79	1	115	5
			116	2
			117	2
			118	4
			119	3
			120	6

	A-dies	Number	P-dies	Number
			121	3
			122	3
			123	1
			124	3
			125	1
			126	1
I Period	9	39	6	39
II Period	15	52	24	51
III Period	19	152	30	149
IV Period	13	195	25	186
V Period	23	181	41	181
TOTAL	79	619	126	606
Combinations with re- verses from other periods or groups.....				13

THE WEIGHT STANDARD

One of the chief factors of the success of the Corinthian currency was certainly the standard adopted. Although it was really the Euboïc-Attic standard, the system of division by 3 and 6 permitted an exchange with the money of the Aeginetic-standard. Thus a Corinthian stater corresponded to an Attic didrachm and a Corinthian drachm or 1/3 stater to an Aeginetan hemidrachm or 1/4 stater. Head indicates the weight of the standard of the Corinthian stater as 8.74 grm. (135 grs.).²⁰⁶ Babelon brings this weight to grm. 8.72.²⁰⁷

These are higher than the weights we have obtained with the frequency-table, established by the Hill-Robinson method.²⁰⁸ Results obtained with this method are certainly truer than those obtained with the averaging system where exceptionally heavy coins or especially light ones may greatly influence the figures obtained.

A first frequency-table established with the coins of the British Museum gave us a frequency-summit of 8.55 gm. Adding 1 per cent, for loss of weight by circulation, we obtain a normal weight of gm. 8.63, which, given the good condition of the coins of the B. M., must be very near the Corinthian standard. From another table established with 135 coins in my own collection, we obtained a norm of gm. 8.58. The difference of gm. 0.05 is probably due to the better condition of the coins of the B. M.

A table established with the coins of the different towns of Akarnania, recorded by Imhoof-Blumer, and 110 specimens of my own collection, gave us the highest point of gm. 8.50; adding 1 per cent, we obtain a norm of gm. 8.58 for the staters of Akarnania.

Another table with all the Ambracian staters here recorded, 496 specimens, gives us the highest point gm. 8.45 plus 1 per cent, norm gm. 8.53.

In working out this table we observed that the weights seemed to augment towards the end of the series; this induced us to make three separate tables and we obtained the following results:

I-II-III Per. . .	Summit 8.35 grm. plus 1 %, norm grm. 8.42.
IV Per.	Summit 8.45 grm. plus 1 %, norm grm. 8.53.
V Per.	Summit 8.50 grm. plus 1 %, norm grm. 8.58.

From these results we may draw the following conclusions:

1. That the Colonies of Corinth seem to have had a lower standard than their mother-city, and that this must have been very near to 8.58 grm.
2. That the standard of Ambracia was lower than that of the other colonies.
3. That not only the standard of the colts did not drop at about the fourth century, as Prof. P. Gardner says,²⁰⁹ but on the contrary, at least for Ambracia, it rose at that time and reached the level of the coins of Akarnania.

ERRONEOUS ATTRIBUTIONS

In many public and private collections there are often colts inscribed A and therefore placed under Ambracia which do not belong to this mint. We think it useful to illustrate these coins on Pl. XVII and XVIII, although many of them have already been attributed to other mints, by Imhoof-Blumer, but not being illustrated, they are often misplaced.

A great number of these coins are of very late style, and certainly posterior to the closing of the mint of Ambracia.

ALYZIA

Coin 1 (Pl. XVII) in Berlin, from the Prokesch-Osten collection, is certainly of this mint. A specimen in the writer's cabinet has the reverse from the same die and the inscription ΑΛΥ is clearly visible in front of the Athena's head, while on the Berlin specimen only Α and the lower part of the other two letters can be seen. This coin corresponds to Imhoof-Blumer No. 5.²¹⁰ Coin 2 (Pl. XVIII) in Athens belongs to the same mint; the obverse is from the same die as the coin of Alyzia in Paris, illustrated by Babelon (Tr., t. IV, pl. CCLXXII, 20). The symbol, a quiver and a bow, confirms this attribution.

ARGOS AMPHILOCHICUM

Coin 3 (Pl. XVIII) in Paris and 4 in Berlin are undoubtedly from this mint. The ΑΜ in front of the Athena's helmet is not the beginning of the Ambracian ethnic, but of ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΩΝ. This can be seen on the coins of the same mint (Imhoof-Blumer 28 to 38)²¹¹ on which the ethnic is ΑΜΦΙΛΟ, ΑΜΦΙΛ, ΑΜΦΙ, ΑΜΦ and afterwards, ΑΜ only. The symbol is generally either a spear or a spear-head. A similar coin in the McClean collection is erroneously ascribed to Mesma.²¹²

Coin 5 in Munich, and others similar, under Ambracia in the Hague and in a private collection,

have AP and a shield for symbol; this coin corresponds to Imhoof-Blumer 16. Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 under Ambracia in several public and private collections are of Argos and can be found in Imhoof-Blumer too. Nos. 10 to 13 in Munich, Glasgow and London are of the same mint and were ascribed to Argos by Imhoof-Blumer owing to their fabric.²¹³ Although placed under Ambracia in the British Museum Catalogue, Head doubted they were really of this mint.²¹⁴

On all these coins of very flat fabric and of late style, the Athena's hair is distinctively treated. On all the Ambracian staters it flows down from beneath the helmet and neck-guard, while on these coins it goes back over the neck-guard in ungainly heavy curls of a very conventional shape. Prof. Oman, in his recent study on the "Late Coinage of Corinth," remarked the same peculiarity on the late Corinthian issues.²¹⁵ These conventional curls which look like hooks stuck on the neck-guard never occur on the Ambracian colts. They are, however, met sometimes on late coins of Anactorium and Leukas, but are generally present on the late colts of mints that continued to strike colts after the Macedonian invasion—such as Argos, Astakos, Coronta(?), Metropolis, Thyreion—and on the colts of the Akarnanian league.

NOTES

1. Dr. E. Oberhummer. Akarnanien, Ambrakia, Amphilochien, Leukas im Altertum. München, 1887, p. 4.
2. Scyl., 33. Dionys. Calliph., 28.
3. Oberhummer, op. cit., p. 26.
4. Polyb., XXI, 26 (XXII-9). Livy, XXXVIII, 3, 11. Oberhummer, p. 72.
5. Oberhummer, p. 64.
6. Dion. Hal., a R. 50.
7. Oberhummer, p. 79.
8. E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grécques et Romaines*, II P., tome IV, c. 132.
9. Raoul Rochette, *Annali dell'Istituto di Roma*, t.I, pp. 312-316.
10. Ernest Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, II B, p. 87. Babelon, op. cit., col. 124.
- 10^a. Herod., VI, 29. Curtius, *Studien zur Gesch. von Corinth*, Hermes 2. B., 2 H., p. 229.
11. Babelon, op. cit., c. 127.
12. Thucyd., II, 68. L. Heuzey, *Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 298.
13. Thucyd., III, 112. L. Heuzey, op. cit., p. 305.
14. L. Heuzey, op. cit., 298.
15. Thucyd., III, 112.
16. Babelon, op. cit., c. 128.
17. Diod., XVII, 3. Head B. M. Cat., p. lvi, Babelon, op. cit., IV, c. 128.
18. Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Brit. Museum*, Corinth, p. 111, n. 63 and 64. The weight corresponds to the half-victoriatus.
19. Pollux (IX, 76) says: *πῶλον, τὸ νόμισμα τὸ κορίνθιον, ὅτι Πήγασον εἶχεν ἐντετυπώμενον*, and he quotes Euripides in the Skiron speaking of the hetaerae in Corinth: "Some you will win if you give one horse

(πῶλος), some by a pair; some come for four silver horses, but what they like is virgins from Athens when you bring many." (Prof. P. Gardner, Pollux' Account of ancient coins. Num. Chr., 3d Series, Vol. I, p. 294.)

- 19^a. O. Ravel, "Notes on some rare Pegasi of my collection," Num. Chr., V ser., 1926, 24, p. 305.
- 19^b. The Magistrates'-signets-theory has been fully discussed and proved by Lenormant for the series of tetradrachms of Athens only; it may be possible that even in other series like Metapontum, for instance, the meaning of the symbols is connected with the mint-magistrates, but it is a mistake to generalize. If this theory was not generally accepted and was a new one to be applied to the Ambracian series, one would certainly be in great difficulties to find arguments to prove it.
20. Head, op. cit., p. xxiv.
21. Prof. Charles Oman, The fifth-century Coins of Corinth, Num. Chr., 4th Series, Vol. IX, p. 18.
22. Babelon, op. cit., T. III, c. 414, 415.
23. Head, op. cit., p. 25 f.
24. Prof. George Macdonald, Coin Types, Their Origin and Development, p. 65 f. In the case of these colts, the principal type being in common with the mother-city and the other colonies, the symbol was a kind of secondary type and therefore it was this that represented the παράσημον of the town.
26. G. H. Hill, Ancient Methods of Coining, Num. Chr., 5th series, Vol. II, p. 1 f.
- 26^a. Against this conclusion there would be only one argument and this was kindly given to me by Mr. C. T. Seltman, to whom I explained the case.

He supposes that one die was in constant use for a couple of years and then put aside and only used occasionally, when other dies were not at hand. This

clever hypothesis is easily contradicted by the fact that only 1 and 5 are found with other dies. If die A was used during a certain period, only occasionally, we should find couplings with A as an exception, and couplings with another obverse should be the norm, which it is not.

29. The Club is quite exceptional for Ambracia and this is why the two coins 29 and 30 (Pl. III) were considered as being of Dyrrhachium.
30. *Revue Numismatique*, IV Ser., T. II, 3, Tr. 1907, p. 323.
31. Prof. P. Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 370, 371.
- 31^a. The present series shows very strange anomalies; see here, p. 91 and p. 166.
32. Athena's head, the constant type of all the colts, has received different names. Fr. Lenormant (*Rev. Num.*, t. XI, p. 73) thought it might represent the armed Aphrodite of which Pausanias saw a statue in the Acrocorinth (Paus., II, 4, 6). E. Curtius supported this opinion. Imhoof-Blumer (*Die Münzen Akarnaniens*, p. 4) discusses it and says that an Aphrodite with a helmet has never existed and the only arms that the armed Aphrodite had, was a shield, which she used as a mirror, as can be seen on later bronze coins. He states that the head is undoubtedly the head of Athena.

Babelon (*Tr.*, t. I, c. 809-810) follows the same opinion and says that Ἀφροδίτη ὀπλισμένη does not mean Aphrodite with a helmet. He sees in the head, Athena χαλινῆτις, who had a temple on the market square in Corinth. This goddess appeared to Bellerophon and gave him a golden bridle with which he mastered Pegasos, therefore her surname χαλινῆτις, the goddess with the bridle. This explanation connects the type of the reverse with that of the obverse.

33. The Pegasos is always found on the obverse of the coins of Corinth and her colonies. On the colts of South Italy and Sicily, it is sometimes on the reverse. This is comprehensible as for these countries the Pegasos had not the same importance as for Corinth, the issues being only a kind of secondary currency, made to satisfy the demands of trade.
34. G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 125, says: "Probably it was due to the widespread popularity of her 'colts' that the Pegasos maintained its position on the obverse, even after the helmeted head of Athena had joined it as a companion," and at p. 136: "... the (Athena's) head succeeds to a place that was vacant, only a single type having been used there previously."
- 34^a. In my "Notes" previously cited, I have drawn attention to this peculiarity.
35. See p. 108 (die P 29 and P 30, Pl. IV) and p. 140 (P 86 and P 88-P 89, Pl. XXII).
- 35^a. Up to date great importance has been given to the symbols, for the classification of the colts. The cases described on pp. 9 and 10 prove how dangerous this is.
36. When in 1878 Imhoof-Blumer wrote his exhaustive study "Die Münzen Akarnaniens" (*Num. Zeitsch.*, X) he saw how difficult it is to classify the colts, chronologically, according to their appearance, and how necessary it would be, for this kind of attempt, to collect as many originals and casts as possible in order to examine and compare all the dies (p. 69).
This, in an epoch when nobody thought of studying the coins through their die-combinations, is quite remarkable and Imhoof-Blumer should therefore be considered as the precursor of the system.
37. Head, *op. cit.*, p. liv.

38. Babelon, op. cit., t. I, c. 913.
39. G. Macdonald, Fixed and loose dies. *Corolla Numismatica*, p. 183 f.
40. See cut at p. 23.
41. S. W. Grose—Fitzwilliam Museum, MacClean Bequest, p. 261, n. 5097, pl. 185, 2. This coin is not of Ambracia but of Leucas.
42. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grècques*, p. 187, n. 21, and "Choix," pl. I, 29.
43. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies Grècques*, p. 137, n. 21 a.
44. Head, op. cit., p. 109. The symbol under the Pegasos is described as a "pellet."
45. Babelon, op. cit., t. IV, c. 142, describes the same coin as having as symbol a "coquillage" (shellfish).
46. See cut at p. 23.
47. Head and Babelon give this coin to Dyrrhachium because the club symbol is generally considered as the *παράσημον* of this town.
48. Hirsch attributes this coin to Dyrrhachium, following the Cat. of the B. M.
49. Grose, op. cit., p. 261. This Nike is taken for the Eros binding the olive-wreath round the helmet (pl. X, 118 a).
50. In the Egger catalogue this coin is placed under Dyrrhachium and the Nike is described as crowning Athena. That the Nike holds a fillet and not a wreath, is clearly visible on 36 a, pl. III.
51. On this coin there is a kind of crescent to l.; it is probably only accidental.
52. See cut at p. 23.
53. Babelon, op. cit., t. IV, attributes this coin to Alyzia following Imhoof-Blumer, and again to Ambracia following Head.
54. Imhoof-Blumer attributes this coin to Alyzia owing to the bow, and the following to Argos because of the dog. These coins prove that it is dangerous to take the symbols as a guide for the classification.

55. Babelon describes the coin as having the obverse from the same die as 291. This is certainly a mistake as the coin corresponds to our 129 d, and the obverse is A 55, Pl. XI.
56. Although this figure is very like to the Eros we often find on Greek vases (cf. Apulian vase in Bari reproduced in W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Röm. Mythologie*, p. 1181, f. 7) it may be the same local hero as the winged dolphin-rider on coin 121, pl. X.
57. The following coin in the same catalogue, 5119, Pl. 186, 4, is a colt of Argos.
58. Babelon describes the symbol as a bee and in his footnote 5 indicates that the coin is 23 of the Cat. of the B. M., pl. XXVIII, 5. This coin has a cicada for symbol and is our 141, pl. XIII. That the symbol represents a fly is proved by the large globular eyes and the abdomen, which are not those of a bee.
59. The following coin in the same cat., 5107, pl. 185, 12, is a coin of Leucas.
60. C. T. Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, pl. V, die δξ.
61. The following coin illustrated by Babelon on pl. CCLXXXII, f. 6, is not of Ambracia but of Leucas (B. M. C., 85, pl. XXXVI, 14).
- 62^a. Cf. *Num. Chr.*, V ser., 24, p. 314.
63. Babelon describes this symbol as a branch of ivy, and Head as a climbing-plant. See p. 115.
64. The aspect of the A prompted Head to attribute this and the following coin to Anactorium.
65. Babelon places this coin under Anactorium, after Head; the obverse illustrated on pl. CCLXXVII, 20, does not belong to the coin; it is an obverse of Argos.
66. The letter beneath the Pegasos is A, not AM.
67. The first letter of the ethnic is certainly A and not Α as it is reported in the catalogue; this peculiar form of alpha is found only on much later coins.

69. Behind the Athena's head M does not exist, and beneath the Pegasos there is only A and not the monogram.
- 69^a. This specimen is described by Imhoof-Blumer in "Griechische Münzen, p. 550, pl. II, 16. He supposes the Σ to be a sigma and being the same letter as on other colts of Leucas, Ambracia, Dyrhachium and Corinth, he thinks it may be the initial of *συνμαχία* or *συνμαχικόν*. The colts with the sigma would therefore be considered as alliance coins.
70. The obverse illustrated on Pl. CCLXXXI, 20, does not belong to this coin, but to 21 (Pl. XVI, 174). We are obliged to point out all these mistakes, probably due to misplacing of the plaster casts, because cases like the above would completely upset the established die-sequence, if they were correct.
71. Cousinéry, *Essai Historique*, p. 161. The girl is described as a copy of the Venus Callipygos. This extraordinary suggestion is surprising in a numismatist like Cousinéry.
72. Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten auf Griechischen Münzen*, J. Int. d'Arch. Num., T. 11, 1908, p. 79.
73. Head, *op. cit.*, p. 104. The obverses of coins 5 and 6 are not described because the type corresponds to the heading, only the peculiarities are noted. Babelon thought on the contrary that these two obverses were the same as the previous one with AM, while in reality there is only an A on the Pegasos' hind-quarters. This is naturally very important, and if these two obverses really had AM, they would belong to a quite different period.
74. W. H. Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Röm. Mythologie*, B. I., p. 444, Apollo's attributes.

75. Obverse illustrated on Pl. CCLXXXI, 12, does not belong to the coin 130a; it is die A 53. This is another misplaced plaster-cast like the above mentioned (note 70).
- 75^a. When I wrote the previously mentioned "Notes" I knew two specimens only of this coin and thought it therefore rare.
76. The name APAΘΘOΣ is not off-flan as Grose supposes, but over the head of the river-god; it can be seen on 116a, Pl. X.
78. This staff is clearly visible on coin 135 C; it reaches to the top of Ambrax' head-gear.
79. The symbol is described as a "serpent coiled round uncertain object"; this is the only case where it has been recognized.
80. Cousinéry, op. cit., was the first to see a swan on the coin and he carefully illustrated the *bird* on Pl. IV, f. 7.
81. Cousinéry, op. cit., p. 160, Pl. IV, f. 9. Mionnet, 3me Suppl., 30 and 31.
82. Eckhel, Numi Veteres Anecdoti Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis, p. 123, pl. VIII, 19.
83. We supposed that this exceptionally light coin, in good preservation, was plated, and as we know of no other plated colt, this might have been interesting. Dr. K. Regling kindly informs us that the light weight is due to the oxidation and that the coin is certainly not plated.
84. Babelon places the coin under Leucas and calls the symbol a lobster, but as the claws are missing it is no doubt a shrimp.
- 85^a. Mr. Vlasto saw this coin among those that composed the Ionian-shore find (1908). If the dating of the find is correct, this coin should be of at least 365–360 B.C. and therefore the beginning of the fifth period should be earlier than 360 B.C.
85. The Temple Coins of Olympia, p. 94.

86. Curtius, Studien zur Geschichte von Korinth, Hermes, II, B. 2a H., p. 243.
87. Grose, op. cit. The symbol is partly off-flan and is questionably identified as a winged boar.
88. The obverse placed near the reverse of 20 on pl. CCLXXI belongs to this coin.
89. The leaves are the same as those on the branch on coin 93, Pl. VIII.
90. Babelon describes the flower as a poppy.
91. On the specimen in Berlin the inscription is off-flan.
92. Babelon, op. cit., T. IV, c. 37, Pl. CCLXXII, 5.
- 92^a. Cf. my "Notes," p. 307.
93. Naville sale, VII, 1924 (Bement).
94. Naville sale, XII, 1926 (Bissen).
95. J. Babelon, Cat. de la Collection de Luynes, pl. LXXI, 1886. This coin is from the same dies as 1, Pl. XIX.
96. Hermes, Band 2, Heft 2, 1875, p. 234.
97. Prof. Oman, op. cit., Num. Chr., 4th Series, Vol. IX, p. 336.
98. G. F. Hill, Ancient Methods of Coining, Num. Chr., V ser., Vol. II, p. 30 f.
99. See Cat. B. M., pl. II, n. 6, 19 and 20. Mr. Noe remarks that similar earrings are found on coins of Metapontum.
- 99^a. Gardner, op. cit., p. 371, 2, 3.
100. Prof. Oman, op. cit., pl. XXVII, N. 14 and 15. These coins are evidently made by the same artist. Prof. Oman dates this issue to 432-431 B.C. It is more probable that they belong to an earlier date.
101. Head, op. cit., p. 106, 17.
102. Head, op. cit., p. 109, 49.
103. Imhoof-Blumer, M. Gr., p. 137, 21.
104. Babelon, op. cit., T. IV, C. 125, 267.
105. I owe this hypothesis to my good friend Mr. M. P. Vlasto, who suggested that the two animals may symbolize two towns at war.

106. Babelon, op. cit., T. I, c. 643. The lexicographers called the χελῶναι of Aegina, "χελώνη, νόμισμα πελοποννησιακόν."
107. E. Curtius, op. cit., p. 229.
108. Thuc., I, 108.
- 108^a. H. B. Earle Fox, Early coinage of European Greece, Corolla Numism., p. 39.
- 108^b. It will be observed that we speak of *turtle* while in reality the animal in the coils of the serpent is a land-tortoise; this is due to the fact that *turtle* is really not the exact translation of χελώνη as this word is generic and means both the sea-turtle and the land-tortoise.
109. Roscher, op. cit., I B., p. 1303 f.
- 109^a. It is well known that the serpent as well as the owl was the symbol of Athena and Athens.
110. E. Curtius, op. cit., p. 240.
111. Babelon, op. cit., T. III, c. 397. After the ruin of Aegina by the Athenians, the coins of Corinth spread all over the Peloponnesus, and the "colts" took the place of the "turtles" in this part of the Greek World.
112. Head, op. cit., p. 106, 16. It is certainly a mistake that in describing the head of Athena he should say: "wearing a leather cap." The only coin of this type with neck-guard is our N. 14.
113. Head, op. cit., p. 106, 17, 18.
114. Monn. Gr., p. 137, 21.
115. Num. Chr., 1926, Fifth Series, 24, p. 309.
116. C. T. Seltman, The Temple Coins of Olympia, p. 34.
117. Head, op. cit., p. 100.
118. See p.
119. Head, op. cit., p. 141, n. 4, and p. lxxviii.
120. Babelon, op. cit., t. IV, c. 125, 271.
- 120^a. Revue Numismatique, IV ser., T. 8, p. 112.
- 120^b. Daremberg & Saglio, Dict. des Ant., Gr. et Rom., art. Infula.

That these fillets were made of wool is confirmed by some bronze coins of Phocis (cf. Babelon Tr., pl. CCV, 17 and 20), on which we see a fillet, no doubt the Delphic one, tied round the bull's horns and hanging down on both sides of the head.

This fillet corresponds probably to the red woollen fillet of the same shape that is still in use in southern Italy round the horns of the oxen, employed as a protection against the evil eye—a survival of the Greek apotropeion.

121. R. S. Poole, B. M. Cat., Italy, p. 313, 88.
122. Daremberg & Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Gr. et Rom., art. Incensorium.
123. Imhoof-Blumer, Die Münzen Akarn., p. 79. He supposes the symbol to represent a kind of rattle. We have seen that the instrument was used by swinging it to and fro; this would not be the best way to make it ring. If the end of the fillet was a bell it would have been more convenient to have it tied to a rigid rod, and the greatest ringing effect would have been obtained by shaking it, rather than by a swinging movement.
124. Head, op. cit., p. lvi. Preller, Gr. Myth., 4th Ed., p. 276. M. Collignon, Histoire de la Sculpture Grècque, t. I, p. 103. Babelon Tr., t. IV, c. 138.
125. Head, Hist. Num., p. 270.
126. Head, B. M. C., p. 104, 3 and 4.
127. Head, op. cit., p. 32.
128. Dr. K. Regling, Z. f. N., XXXIII, p. 51 f.
129. M. P. Vlasto, Alexander, son of Neoptolemos, Num. Chr., V ser., Pl. II, III, p. 182.
130. Seltman, op. cit., p. 163.
131. Num. Chr., 1926, V Ser., Pl. IV, p. 314.
132. This peculiarly shaped alpha is generally found on archaic coins only. In Ambracia on the contrary some of the archaic colts have the usual civic initial A with the straight crossbar (see 1, 2 and 3, Pl. I) and

not until later is the crossbar slanting—sometimes upwards to left and sometimes upwards to right.

This archaic letter A is found often even on very late colts; it can be considered as a local form of the civic initial.

It is remarkable that Ambracia should have employed for this purpose an archaic letter, copying even in this her mother-city.

This A corresponds to the Ϟ (koppa) that is found on all the coins of Corinth and that is still her characteristic initial long after this archaic letter had been abolished and replaced by the K.

133. B. M. Cat., p. 115, 3.
134. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, p. 91, 194.
135. B. M. Cat., p. lix.
136. W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 1358.
137. B. M. Cat., p. 104. These coins are placed immediately after the archaic ones.
139. B. M. Cat., pl. XXXIV, 16 and 17.
140. Num. Chr., 1926, V Ser., Pl. IV, p. 311.
141. Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten*, J. I. A. N., t. 11, p. 79.
- 141^a. Vlasto in his ΤΑΡΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ, Num. Notes and Monographs 15, p. 130, illustrates a nomos of his collection inscribed ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ on the obverse and ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ on the reverse. It is remarkable that one side should have both the archaic R and O while the other side has P and Ω. This case proves how little we can rely on epigraphic considerations for the dating of coins.
142. Cousinéry, *Essai*, p. 160, 8.
143. Similar corrections on Greek and Roman coins are known; cf. G. F. Hill, *Ancient Methods of Coining*, l.c., p. 25, where several cases are quoted.
144. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 144^a. Mr. Newell observes that in Amphipolis the race-torch is certainly connected with the Apollo's head of the obverse.

145. Imhoof-Blumer, *Münzen Akarn.*, p. 29, 31.
146. *Mitteilungen d. Röm. Inst.*, 1886, p. 222.
147. *B. M. Cat.*, p. lv.
148. Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen und Chariten*, l.c., p. 79.
Dictionnaire des Antiquités Gr. et Rom., III, p. 867, f. 4306.
149. *B. M. Cat.*, p. 106. 18 is placed between 17 of the II period and 19 of the V.
150. J. N. Svoronos, *Stylides, Ancres Hierae, Aphlasta*, etc., *J. I. A. N.*, t. 16, 1914, p. 133. C. Carapanos, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
151. In the catalogue of the Pozzi Coll., 1783 (from the Hirsch sale, XXXI), the Pegasos is described as having AY on its hind-quarters. This is certainly a mistake; there is only an A, which stands for the civic initial, as does the ♀ on some Corinthian starters, placed in the same way (*B. M. Cat.*, pl. IV, 10).
152. R. Rochette, *Annali dell'Inst. di Roma*, t. I, p. 312, 316. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, c. 131.
153. E. Curtius, *St. zur Gesch. v. K.*, l.c., p. 230. Preller, *Aufsätze*, p. 431.
154. M. P. Vlasto, ΤΑΡΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ. *Num. Notes and Monogr.*, No. 15, p. 5.
155. M. P. Vlasto, ΤΑΡΑΣ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΣ. *Num. Notes and Monogr.*, No. 15, p. 6.
157. This staff was taken for a lance, but no point can be seen on either of the two known specimens.
158. Vlasto, *op. cit.*, p. 72, pl. III.
159. Imhoof-Blumer, *Fluss- und Meergötter auf griech. und röm. Münz.*, p. 219, 5, Taf. IV, 14. *Die Münz. Akar.*, p. 91, Monnaies Grècques, p. 138.
160. *B. M. Cat.*, p. lv.
161. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, c. 135, 136.
162. *B. M. Cat.*, p. lv.
163. Riggauer, *Eros auf Münzen*, *Zeits. f. Num.*, VIII B., 1881, p. 74 f.

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- 163^a. Roscher, *Lex. Gr. und Röm. Myth.*, p. 479.
164. Cf. p. 125.
167. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. III, c. 434, pl. CCXII, n. 23.
168. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, c. 135.
169. W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, c. 677.
170. W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, c. 1697.
171. Prof. C. Oman, *The Fifth Cent. Coins of Corinth*.
Cf. p. 10 of the present work.
172. B. M. C., p. 108, 35 and 36. There is no Δ , but A
over the helmet.
173. See here p. 94.
174. S. Reinach, *Repertoire des Vases Peints*, t. IV, p. 371,
f. 2.
- 175^a. A strikingly similar boy is depicted on a marble slab
from Epidauros in the Athens National Museum.
Cf. TO EN AΘHNAIS EΘNIKON MOTEEION, pl.
LXVII, 1424, and described by Svoronos on p. 146
as young Asklepios (?). (Cf. S. Reinach, *Repertoire
de Reliefs gr. und rom.*, t. II, p. 323, 3.)
176. *Arch. Zeitsch.*, 1850, p. 160.
177. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
178. W. H. Roscher, II B., p. 7. Arist., *Ran.*, p. 395.
179. W. H. Roscher, II B., p. 3. Nonn., *Dionys.*, 48, 951.
180. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, pl. CCLXXI, f. 22, 23, 24,
25. *Num. Chr.*, 1926, V Ser., p. iv, pl. XXI, n. 5.
181. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
182. C. Carapanos, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
183. C. Carapanos, *op. cit.*, p. 166. *Dionys. Hal., Hist.
Rom.*, I, 14.
184. J. N. Svoronos, *Stylides, etc.*, l.c., p. 150.
185. S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la Statuaire Gr. und Rom.*,
t. IV, pl. 1, f. 1. Kekulé, *Dodona*, pl. I.
186. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
187. 3me *Suppl.*, 30, 31.
188. B. M. *Cat.*, p. lvi.
189. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

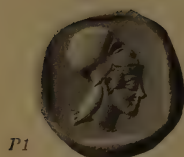
190. E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. IV, c. 139.
191. *Ταρσὸν ἐκτιμένην, ὅθι δὴ ποτὲ Πήγασος ἵππος
ταρσὸν ἀφείλ χωρῶ λίπεν οὔνονα, τῆμος ἀφ' ἵππου
'εἰς Διὸς ἱέμενος πέσεν ἥρως Βελλεροφόντης.*
Dionysius the Periegete, 869 f.
192. J. Eckhel, *Numi Veteres Anecdoti ex Museis Caesareo Vindobonensi*, p. 124.
193. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 106 f. M. P. Vlasto, Alexander, son of Neoptolemos, *l.c.*, p. 200 f.
194. J. N. Svoronos, *Stylides, etc.*, *l.c.*, p. 139.
195. *The Temple Coins of Olympia.*
196. Curtius, *St. z. G. v. K.*, *l.c.*, p. 242.
197. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- 197^a. The breaking of these dies is probably due to the fact that the metal was brittle owing to insufficient annealing of the tempered steel. (Cf. S. W. Grose, *A Decadrachm by Kimon*, *Num. Chr.*, IV ser., 1916, p. 130.)
198. B. M. Cat., p. 105.
199. J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, III T., p. 101.
200. Cousinéry, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, n. 6.
201. In Paris there is another coin (Corinth 366 a) which is really a coin of Argos, with the same head wearing a conical pilos, added to the reverse.
- 201^a. A typical instance of the danger of this kind of forgeries is given by the tetradrachm of Gela formerly in the Pozzi collection (435). This coin, a common one, of well-known dies, has three large pellets, added by the same man, on the reverse. Nobody doubted that these pellets were genuine and Mr. Giesecke in his "*Sicilia Numismatica*" illustrates the coin on pl. 9, 5, and at p. 12 says: "These three pellets, undoubtedly marks of value, mean that this tetradrachm corresponds to three heavy diachms of the Euboic towns, and considerations based on this premise follow."

202. L. O. Th. Tudeer, Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Syrakus in der Periode der signierenden Künstler, *Zeit. f. Num.*, 1913, p. 215 ff.
- 202^a. Cf. *Atti e Memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica*, Vol. IV, p. 8, where Prof. P. Orsi mentions some of G.'s forgeries.
204. W. Schwabacher, *Mitteil. der Bayer. Num. Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt, 1925.
206. B. M. Cat., p. xx.
207. Babelon, *op. cit.*, t. III, c. 385.
208. G. F. Hill, The Frequency-table, *Num. Chr.*, Fifth Ser., Vol. IV, p. 77 ff.
209. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 376.
210. *Die Münz. Akarn.*, p. 48.
211. *Die Münz. Akarn.*, p. 88, 90.
212. Grose, *op. cit.*, Pl. 58, 13.
213. *Die Münz. Akarn.*, p. 88.
214. B. M. Cat., p. liv.
215. *Num. Chr.*, V Ser., Vol. VI, p. 5, 6.

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1a



2



3a



A7



A8



A8



8a



9a



10



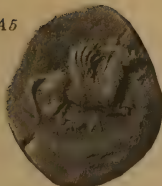
PLATE I

A4



5a

A5



6

A6



7

P4



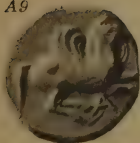
P4



P3



A9



11a

A10



12a

A10

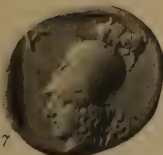


13

P6



P7



P8



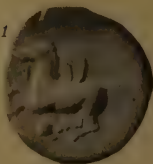
THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A11



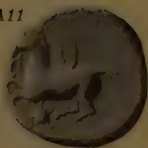
14

A11



15

A11



16a

P9



P8



P10



A13



20a

A14



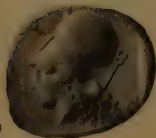
21

A14



22

P10



P4



P12



PLATE II

A12



17a

A12



18

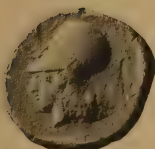
A13



19a



P7

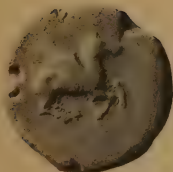


P11



P11

A14



23

A14



24

A15



25



P13



P14



P14

THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA



26



27



28



32a



33



34



PLATE III

A17



29

A18



30

A19



31

P17



P18



P19



A22



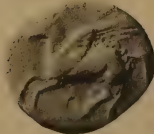
35

A22



36

A22



37

P23



P24



P25



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A23



38

A23



39a

A23



40a

P26



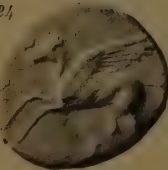
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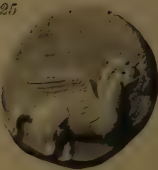


A24



43c

A25



44

A26



45a

P30



P31



P31



PLATE IV

A23



A23



A24



41a



42



43a



P23

P29

P30

A27



A27



A27



46a



47a



48



P32

P31

P26

THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A27



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A28



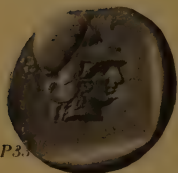
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A28



51b

P33



P32



P26



A30



55d

A31



56a

A31



57a

P35



P34

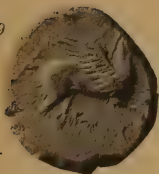


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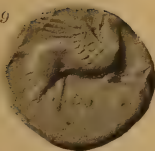
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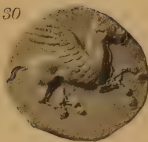
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A29



53

A30



54

P33



P31



P34



A31



58a

A32



59a

A32



59d

P37



P38



P38



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A32



60

A33



61

A33



62a

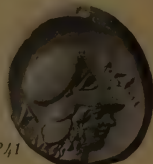
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P40



P41



A35



65d

A35



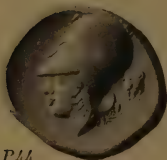
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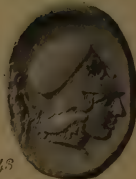


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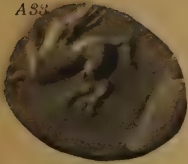
P43



P45



A33



63a

A34



64a

A34



64b

P43



P43



P43



A36



68a

A36



69a

A36



70c

P46



P47



P48



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A36



71a

A37



72a

A37



73a

P49



P45



P46



A39



76a

A39



77

A40



78a

P51



P52

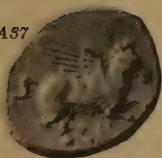


P53



PLATE VII

A37



74a



P47

A38



75a



P50

A38



75d



P50

A39



80



P54

A41



81b



P55

A41



82a



P56

THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A41



A41



A41



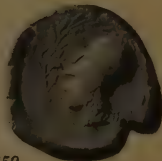
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84



85a



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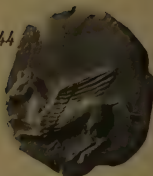
P58

P59

A43



A44



A44



89



90a



91



P60

P61

P62

PLATE VIII

A41



86a

A42



87a

A42



88a

P60



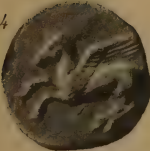
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P60



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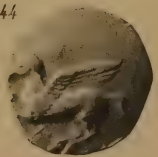
92a

A44



93a

A44



93c

P63



P64



P64



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A44



94a

A44



95d

A44



96

P65



P66



P67



A46



100a

A46



101a

A47



102b

P68



P69



P70

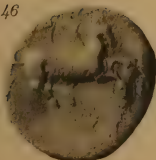


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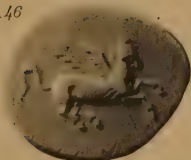
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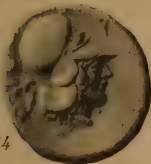


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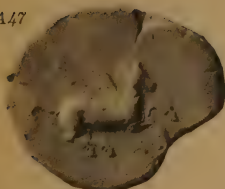
P64



P65



A47



103a

A47



104a

A48



105a

P69



P68



P70



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A48



106g

A49



108

A50



109

P71



P71



P73



A52



113a

A53



115

A53



116a

P76



P71



P78



PLATE X

A51



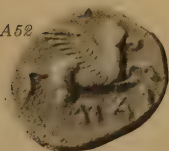
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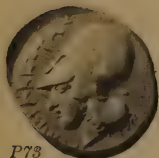
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A52



112

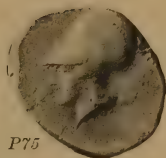
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P74



P75



A53



116c

A53



117c

A53



117g

P78



P79



P79



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A53



118a

A53



119

A53



120a

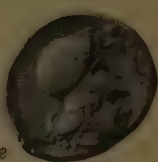
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P81



P82



A55



125a

A55



125f

A55

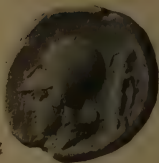


126a

P84



P84



P78a



PLATE XI

A54



121

A54



123a

A54



124

P71



P78a



P84



A55



127

A55



128

A55



129a

P83



P85



P82



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A55



129d

A55



130

A55

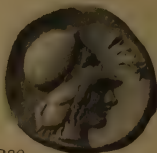


131

P82



P80



P81



A57



135a

A57



135b

A57



135i

P86



P86



P86



PLATE XII

A55



132

A56



133a

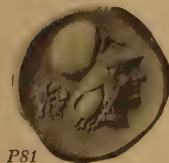
A56



134



P79



P81



P79

A57



136a

A57



137a

A57



138a



P87



P88



P89

THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A58



139a

A58



140a

A58



140d

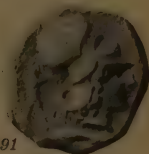
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P91



P91



A59



144

A60



145

A61

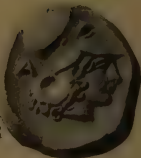


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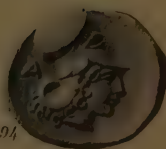
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P94



P94





141a



142b



143a



146h



147a



148a



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A63



149a

A63



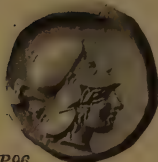
150a

A63



151a

P96



P97



P98



A66



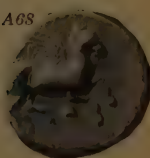
155

A67



156

A68



157

P100



P100



P101



A64



152a

A65



153a

A65



154

P99



P100



P101



A69



158a

A70



159

A71

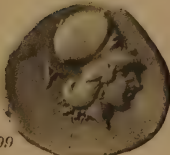


160

P102



P99



P103



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A71



161a

A71



162a

A71



163a

P104



P105



P106



A73



167a

A74



168a

A75



169a

P108



P109



P110



A72



164a

A72



165

A72



166

P107



P106



P105



A76



170a

A76



171a

A76



172

P111



P112



P113



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A76



173a

A77



174a

A77



175a

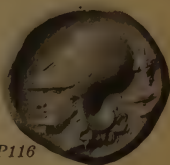
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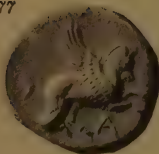
P115



P116



A77



179

A77



180c

A77



181a

P120



P121



P122





176a



177a



178a



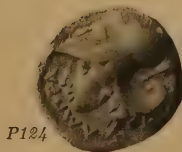
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183a



184



THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA

A79



185

A80



186a

A80

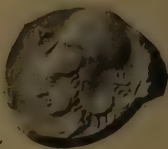


187a

P126



P127



P128



A83



192



193



194

P132

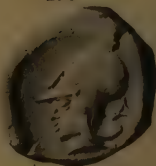


PLATE XVII

A80



A82



A83



188



190a



191a



P129

P130

P131



195



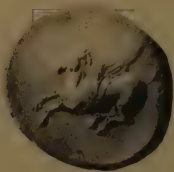
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THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA



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PLATE XVIII



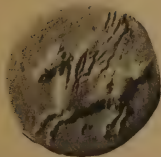
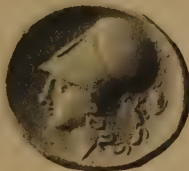
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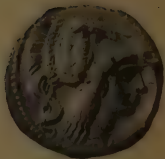
THE "COLTS" OF AMBRACIA



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3



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b



c



PLATE XIX



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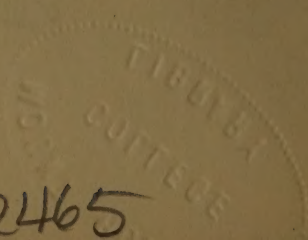


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f





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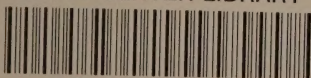
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